

children

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CHILDREN with potentials for living a creative life in freedom and dignity as pictured in the exhibit, "These Are Our Children," at the Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth. (See pages 100 and 101.)

The Conference, sixth of the decennial White House Conferences on Children to be called since 1909, met in Washington March 27 to April 2, and is the subject of the major portion of this issue.

A former newspaperwoman, Dorothea Andrews has been with the Children's Bureau since 1951, except for a year devoted to free-lance writing. In 1950 she covered the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth for the Washington Post, where for 10 years she specialized in reporting on local welfare problems. Recently she prepared the report "What Price Dependency?" for the District of Columbia Health and Welfare Council. (See page 120.) A graduate of High Point College in North Carolina, she began her career with the Washington News Service.



At present a sophomore at Depauw University, majoring in political science, Susanna Matthews has been a member of the President's National Committee for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth since its formation in the fall of 1958. A member of the Michigan Youth Advisory Council and one-time member of the Michigan Youth Commission, she attended the Fourth Joint Conference on Children and Youth in Chicago in 1958, at which representatives of State youth commissions, national organizations, and the Federal Government discussed White House Conference plans. Planning to be a high school teacher when she finishes college, Miss Matthews will spend her junior year in France.



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IMPRESSIONS OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

A nonofficial personal report of the Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, based on personal observations at the Conference sessions, conversations with participants, reading of speeches, abstracts, and press releases, and notes from colleagues and other friends.*

KATHRYN CLOSE

"I HAVE an unshakable faith in the overwhelming majority of fine, earnest, high-spirited youngsters who comprise this rising generation of Americans."

So spoke the President of the United States on the evening of March 27, 1960, to the gathering of 11,000 persons assembled for the opening of the Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth. Of those attending, some 7,600—including about 1,400 youths of high school and college age and 500 foreign visitors—were official delegates to the Conference. They spent the following 5 days in groups of various sizes, scattered throughout the hotels and public buildings of Washington, considering the state of affairs among children and youth across the Nation and making recommendations for improvement. Their stated purpose: "to promote opportunities for children and youth to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity." The result at week's end: over 1,000 specific recommendations directed to almost every conceivable type of organization and individual having a bearing on the lives of young people—the President, the Congress, Federal agencies, State and local governments, specific industries, the various helping professions, social and health agencies, churches, schools, community planners, police, courts, housing officials, adults in general, parents, "the family," and young people themselves.

The conferees had come from all 50 States and the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and Samoa, and from 73 foreign countries. They included clergymen, industrialists, un-

ion leaders, soldiers, sailors, farmers, social workers, nurses, educators, doctors, lawyers, Indian chiefs, Congressmen, policemen, judges, writers, broadcasters, practitioners of a variety of other vocations, housewives, and students. In short, this was a citizen's conference. The conferees' only common denominator, as Mrs. Rollin Brown, chairman of the President's National Committee, pointed out at the opening session, was their concern for the young.

The participants had shown concern for children and youth, as had many thousands of other adults and young people across the land, in their preparatory work for the Conference back in their home communities through local or State committees or through the national organizations with which they were affiliated.¹ They brought to the Conference not only the results of their own inquiries, but information gained through their perusal of the eight volumes of material on children and youth prepared for the Conference, two of the volumes based on their own pre-Conference efforts and the others prepared by experts of various kinds. (See page 118.) That these materials, though still almost "hot off the press," had already been widely read became clear in workgroup after workgroup, where participants would refer to one of the background or technical papers or a chart to make a point.

This was the largest Washington gathering of the six White House Conferences on Children called by Presidents of the United States since 1909.² It was largest in numbers of delegates and program participants—850 speakers, meeting chairmen, leaders, and resource people—and in scope of concern.

For the first 3 full days of the Conference, each delegate began the day listening to speakers at one

*Sarah L. Doran, Ethel Hawkins, Leora Wells.

of 5 concurrent Theme Assemblies, devoted successively to the subjects: Appraising Ideals and Values in the Changing World of Children and Youth; Assessing the Impact of Change on Children and Youth; and Adapting to Change and Innovation—the Effects on Children and Youth of Science, Technology, Population Pressures, and World Events. Following the Theme Assemblies came 18 concurrently held Forums, each with a different general topic: 9 concerned with various aspects of The World Around the Young—environment, mobility, support, nurture, opportunity, free time, mass communications, human resources, and beliefs; and 9 with various aspects of The Young in the World—moving toward maturity, from birth to puberty; moving toward maturity, from puberty to young adulthood; as learners and thinkers; as doers; as citizens; with mental handicaps, with physical handicaps, in conflicts, and with social handicaps.

After hearing speeches at his assigned Forum each conferee spent the first three afternoons of the week in one of 210 small workgroups, hammering out recommendations on one aspect of his Forum's topic—ranging in specificity from “the significance of a personal faith for children and youth” to “identification and treatment of the mentally retarded”—for presentation to the Forum on Thursday for a vote. Thus each recommendation submitted by the workgroup, after duplicates were weeded out by topic



A group of Indian children from the Navaho reservation entertaining the conference participants at the Americana Ball. The ball was one of the affairs planned by the youth members of the President's National Committee.

teams composed of representatives from workgroups of the same topic, were accepted or rejected through a vote of the 400 or so people in a Forum, but none were voted on by the Conference as a whole. The closing session on Friday, with the 7,600 participants assembled at the National Guard Armory, was devoted to summary, appreciations, and ceremony.

Assignments to workgroups and Forums were made by an IBM machine “concerned” both with the participant's stated interest and the wider interest of keeping balance of representation in each group. Youth participants were a part of every group.

In spite of its bigness this Conference was notable in its degree and spread of individual participation. As the workgroups contained only about 30 people each, and were broken down each day into small buzz sessions of five or six people each, it was almost impossible for any delegate to be a listener only. “Almost” is used here advisedly for, in spite of the set structure and procedures, what happened in the workgroups was as various as human personalities. There were extra-permissive workgroup leaders who did little to provoke any discussion at all, leaders who always steered the discussion away from controversial issues, leaders who tried to guide the group into their own way of thinking, and leaders who exhibited unusual skill at helping people express their own ideas, holding down the unscheduled speechmakers, keeping the discussion to relevant issues, and giving everyone a chance to have his say.

There were youth who were aggressively conservative—“juvenile delinquents ought to be punished more severely”; youth who were aggressively progressive—to the point of using their free time away from the Conference to organize picket lines in support of the Southern student lunch counter “sit-ins”; youth who tried to say something but out of politeness or shyness couldn't break into adult-dominated discussions; youth who had to be prodded into saying anything at all. There were adult participants who talked too much, adults who did not talk at all; adults who both talked and listened.

Yet, with all the variety of the participants' background, personalities, and focuses of attention, out of their deliberations emerged some major threads of concern, showing up in session after session no matter what the assigned subject of discussion. The President anticipated some of these on the opening night when he spoke of the importance of their mission:

“First . . . you are working with the most precious resource of our Nation: a whole generation of

Americans who will someday make their country's policies and dispose its great power. . . .

"Second, this process of preparation for tomorrow's leadership grows increasingly difficult as rapid and momentous changes alter the look of tomorrow's world. . . .

"... within this great context of change and accommodation there are certain imperishable values which must neither be changed nor abandoned. . . .

"... For civilization is a matter of spirit; of conviction and belief; of self-reliance and acceptance of responsibility; of happiness in constructive work and service; of devotion to valued tradition. It is a religious faith; it is a shared attitude toward life and living. . . ."

The President singled out juvenile delinquency as a problem of worldwide concern to which the Conference must address itself. Pointing out that its causes are "multiple," he said that "multiple measures must be used to weed them out." Yet he warned against a tendency to generalize pessimistically about today's youth and asserted that a "happy family" was the surest way of preventing failures.

The Search for Integrity

A similar accent on values prevailed throughout the Conference—inevitably no doubt because of the Conference theme (see page 87) and programing, but obviously also because of a deeply felt concern on the part of many speakers and delegates over what they regard as threats to personal and social integrity in American life today. This emerged not only in the speeches presented at the Theme Assemblies devoted to "Appraising Ideals and Values," but also in almost all other parts of the Conference, no matter what the assigned subject of consideration. Closely entwined were other obvious threads of prevalent concern—the desire to wipe the blight of racial discrimination from the American scene as quickly and as painlessly as possible and the desire to enhance the quality of education for all children.

There were those at the Conference who apparently did not share the President's faith in the youth of the Nation. They spoke of "softness," "boredom," and "lack of commitment." Two speakers quoted the lines from William Butler Yeats:

"The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity."

The blame was put squarely on the adult world and the gap between precept and example. The culprits

named were various—most frequently parents, often the school, sometimes the mass media of communication, sometimes public figures—but whoever the adults under fire the poison in American life was unequivocally identified as an accent on materialism.

Nobody, of course, suggested a return to the days when one-third of the Nation was "ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed." On the contrary, considerable Conference attention—in oratory, discussions, and recommendations—was given to ways of bringing a greater proportion of the products of our material affluence to the still considerable proportion of our population living at bare- or sub-subsistence levels—a group estimated by one speaker to be 20 to 25 percent. Among the many suggestions which eventually became recommendations were increasing minimum wages and extending minimum wage laws to migrants and other uncovered workers, opening employment opportunities to members of minority groups, eliminating residence requirements for all health and welfare services, increasing unemployment benefits, broadening disability provisions of the social insurance program, and inquiring into the desirability of a system of family allowances.

Yet a widespread uneasiness about the possible toxic byproducts of affluence was clearly evident. Juvenile delinquency was reported as more prevalent in times of prosperity, and one cause suggested was the resentment of the socially and economically disadvantaged portions of the youthful population at their inability to share in the opportunities to get the things that today stand for success. "To cure delinquency," said one speaker, "we must cure ourselves."³

Another speaker saw our society as "30 seconds to midnight," its only hope lying in a rather immediate filling of "the vacuum at the value core"—both in the inner man and in the social structure.⁴ Another, calling for "a defense in depth," maintained that "moral and spiritual values must never be dealt with in isolation from social issues."⁵ He and many others called for full acceptance of minorities as a moral imperative.

Youth Responsibilities

Of the 500 foreign visitors at the Conference only one was a program speaker. He urged the participants to consider how young people could be helped to develop "those technical and above all human qualities which can be used for the benefit of mankind"—how children could be helped "not only to receive and gain, but to give and share."⁶ That

some attention was given this possibility was attested to by a recommendation from one workgroup for a youth technical assistance corps to work in other countries for the betterment of living conditions. A few other speakers also had their sights on the world at large. Said one: "Am I my brother's keeper? there is only one answer: 'Yes'—for if you are not, there is no future to mankind."⁷

The rapidity of social change and the complexity of the economy were frequently cited as causes of a sense of individual helplessness among both youth and adults. As one youth said in a workgroup: "I'm part of a generation that is faced with evidence daily that the H-bomb may drop tomorrow. We need something that tells us that life is worth something—has meaning." But an assembly speaker saw the complexity of life today as an opportunity for personal fulfillment through the acceptance of cooperative social responsibility. "It has been well said that today's hero like today's saint, must be an organization man."⁸

An educator contended that youth had "little of the crusading spirit."⁹ But this and the many statements about youth's lack of conviction seemed to be belied by the actions of many of the young participants at the Conference. Groups of young people held caucuses throughout the week to plan strategy for "getting things done." They served notice of their intention to rally support for strong Conference recommendations endorsing racial desegregation in all phases of American life. One youthful chairman of a Theme Assembly announced at the close of the session that the Southern students protesting lunch-counter discrimination "will not stand alone."¹⁰ Many of the scores of antidiscrimination recommendations passed in the Forums were originally introduced by young people in workgroups.

The young people, of course, were not unanimous in their points of view. While only isolated protests against desegregation as an eventual goal were heard in any part of the Conference, an effort to keep the antidiscrimination recommendations from being specific was led by a group of youth from Northern States who were circulating a petition that the Conference confine itself to endorsing "human rights." At the Youth Evaluation meeting on Thursday, where Danny Kaye was moderator, some parliamentary confusion complicated a battle over whether the words "in due time" should be substituted for the words "by 1970" in a recommendation calling for "substantial completion of school desegregation." However, the suggested substitution was eventually

soundly defeated. This resolution, which was one in a list of "youth priorities" presented to the Conference (see pages 96-102) also called for the provision of equal access to housing for all individuals and elimination of discrimination in employment practices, and affirmed "the right of nonviolent resistance against all forms of social injustice."

Juvenile Delinquency

Though concern for juvenile delinquency had its own setting in a Forum called "The Young in Conflict" and in 12 workgroups, opinions on what or who is to blame for its rise and on what to do about it came from almost all parts of the Conference. The expressions of the experts backed up the President's statement that it arises from many factors and that, therefore, many measures are needed to combat it. But the "experts" seemed divided on whether social or individual psychological factors bore most weight in its causation, as well as on the priorities in efforts to combat it. One speaker, a sociologist, called delinquency "the dark underside" of a general societal advance, caused by social dislocations and educational pressures and predicted that the increase in its incidence would not long continue.¹¹

Other diverging points of view emerged in discussions of efforts to identify potential delinquents early. Two workgroups produced recommendations urging greater efforts to find children in early life who are "prone" to delinquency; but one of these groups put the emphasis on the development of predictive devices and the other on identification through symptoms of emotional distress and behavior. The latter urged that such "labels" as "delinquency prone" and "in danger of becoming delinquent" not be applied to children and youth merely on the basis of prediction scales "prior to antisocial conduct on the part of the child." A workgroup focusing on emotional disturbance in children also became concerned over the possible adverse effects of "labeling" and recommended that law enforcement agencies and courts not affix such labels as "delinquent" to children "prior to competent diagnosis of basic causes."

One Forum speaker, a social worker, pointed out that "far too many who are minor offenders when first they become known to us eventually become hardened criminals despite early identification."¹² What is needed, he said, is a planned community policy providing for case location, case screening, diagnosis, systematic provision of services, diversified resources, integration of services, and coordina-

tion of policy and program and of planning.

Another social worker called for a program which would reach out not only to the delinquent, but also to his family and community, "to reincorporate them into the social fabric."¹³ Unless work with gangs is complemented by work with the family of the gang member, he said, "the youngster can be caught between the shifting values of the gang and the social values of the home."

Church, schools, recreation agencies, and above all "a good home life" were repeatedly cited throughout the Conference as important in the prevention of delinquency. The need for research into causes and effectiveness of treatment methods was frequently stressed as was the need for training of all kinds of treatment personnel. One recommendation urged the extension of Federal training to include in addition to psychiatrists "the other personnel concerned with prevention, early detection, and treatment of youth in conflict, namely, pediatricians, obstetricians, teachers, ministers, lawyers, welfare workers, probation officers, school social workers, and psychiatrists."

Education

This emphasis on the need for stepped up training of all types of professional personnel emerged throughout the Conference no matter what type of service to children was under discussion. It was also the focus of the entire Forum, called "Human Resources," and its eight related workgroups, where the competition for the educated in this country was plainly regarded as one of the chief blocks to fulfilling promises to children made by this and previous White House Conferences. One speaker predicted: "Unless we devote a larger and better qualified share of the Nation's human resources to the educational, health, and welfare needs of the young, all our soaring hopes and glorious dreams, not only for our children and youth, but also for this country's future, will be frustrated."¹⁴ Repeatedly emphasized was the dependence of the professions on the quality of elementary, high school, and college education—in other words, on the schools' preparation of young people with the ability and desire to go into the service professions.

Suggestions for improving the quality of education included increased financial support from all levels of government; relieving the schools of functions which "properly belong to the home or other agencies"; less emphasis on physical education and sports; employment of teachers on a 12-month basis; special

projects for culturally deprived children; increased attention to the gifted as well as slow learners.

Over and over conferees called for expectations of "excellence" on the part of the schools and asked for greater stimulation of the gifted. But at least one educator maintained that such a goal need not conflict with equality of educational opportunities for all children, regardless of their intellectual potentialities. He maintained that persons who "accept the sophistry that equality inevitably means a commitment to mediocrity," overlook "the need for diversity of interest and varied intellectual power and special creativity."¹⁵ Another educator maintained that to charge a school only with the intellectual development of its pupils is both "psychologically impossible and morally irresponsible."¹⁶ He maintained that teachers' and pupils' personalities are bound to interact.

While there were those at the Conference who suggested that child labor laws ought to be reviewed in the light of the delinquency situation, others cited the steady dwindling in unskilled jobs to back the contention that every child in this country needs at least 12 years of schooling. A recommendation that the States require compulsory school attendance until the age of 16 was adopted. The consensus seemed to be that schools should make a greater ef-

THEME OF THE CONFERENCE

The purpose of the 1960 White House Conference is to promote opportunities for children and youth, to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity.

This effort will be based on:

(1) Study and understanding of the values and ideals of our society; the effect on the development of children and youth of the rapid changes in this country and the world; and how families, religion, government, community services—such as education, health, and welfare—peer groups, and the behavior of adults in their interactions with children and youth deter or enable individual fulfillment and constructive service to humanity.

(2) Examination of the degree of achievement of previous White House Conferences' goals and recommendations.

(3) Determination of the action that individuals, organizations, and all levels of government can take to implement Conference purposes.



Some of the Conference participants listening to a speaker in one of the Conference's 18 simultaneously held Forums.

fort to keep children interested in learning, through revision of program and the provision of more personal counseling and vocational guidance.

Views on curriculum content were various and conflicting, with advocates of sharper attention to vocational training, to science and the humanities, to preparation for family life. A 19-year-old college sophomore said that the average student today "tests everything with the question, 'How can I use what I am learning now when I am out of school?'"¹⁷

But a theologian took issue with those who regard learning as a means to an end—whether preparation for life or strengthening of national security. Maintaining that "learning *is* life," he called "the modest standards" of contemporary education "unfair to the potentialities of man."⁵ Said he: "We prepare the pupil for employment, for holding a job. We do not teach him how to be a person, how to resist conformity, how to grow inwardly, how to say no to his own self. We teach him how to adjust to the public; we do not teach him how to cultivate privacy." Today's major challenge, he said, is "to save man from inner oblivion."

But whether "self-realization" or "social effectiveness," the goal of education was repeatedly presented as a responsibility reaching far beyond the task of the schools. Young people learn "wherever they are," one speaker pointed out, "at home, on the playground, and in Sunday school . . . sprawled before the TV set, sitting in the movies, hanging around street corners, or gathered in Boy and Girl Scout troops . . . from comic books, paperbacks,

newspapers, and magazines. . . ." But parents are primarily responsible, she said, for "the kinds of pupils the schools have to work with."¹⁸

TV, radio, motion pictures, advertising, the press came in for some heavy criticism for not living up to their educational potentials, for incessant portrayals of violence, and for presenting force or greater material possessions as heroic ways of gaining the upper hand.

Points of view differed as to whether these media could have any detrimental effects on a well-loved, well-reared child. A representative of a broadcasting company called for "a Manhattan project to determine the effects of TV on children";¹⁹ but a psychiatrist pointed to the difficulty of designing controlled experiments of this nature.²⁰

Others spoke of the values of TV in widening children's horizons and of its uses as teaching aids. There were calls for more parental control over TV watching and some expressions of apprehension about the effects on the younger generation of too much passive recreation. Said one speaker: "TV cannot enter your home without your consent."²¹

Family Life

Thus again, as constantly throughout the Conference, the question reverted to the quality of parenthood and of family life. Mothers were called "irresponsible" for going to work outside the home. Fathers were blamed for not spending enough time with their children—or, conversely, for taking over the mother's role. Parents in general were accused of substituting a "phony togetherness" for depth of relationship. The young people were especially hard on parents, accusing them of not setting good examples, of not being firm, of not allowing enough freedom of choice.

But parents also had their defenders. A sociologist, for example, denied the existence of a moral decline and said that there is more dedication in the adult world today than ever before to "bringing into the world and bringing up the younger generation,"¹¹ even though American women are fitting this in with other concerns which are giving them "richer, fuller lives." And a young college student said: "There is a 'me' who I want to be, and it looks like my father and mother."

A few voices, including some young ones, suggested that young people themselves had some responsibility for how they turned out. For example, in one workgroup when a youth representative blamed the "wildness" of a teenage neighbor on the

fact that his mother went out to work, a young German visitor said: "I think that by the time a person is a teenager he has a responsibility for the way he behaves and if he knows his mother has to work he ought to be ashamed for becoming wild." And a youth representative from the Deep South volunteered: "My mother has always had to work and when we were children, my father and mother told us why and what we had to do and we did it." And she added: "I think it is helping me to become what I hope to become."

A pediatrician pointed out that the development of responsibility begins early in life in a "reciprocal trust" between parent and child.²² But a psychiatrist said that the interrelationship of the components of adulthood developed in early childhood "is not finally established until the latter part of adolescence."²³ Guidance agencies, she suggested, should help parents "to understand, tolerate, and remain available" to adolescents going through the "crisis" of sexual development.

A social worker, on the other hand, said that for many youth in disorganized neighborhoods, family conditioning has been completed "for better or for worse" as early as their 14th year. "What these half-grown youngsters now need, he asserted, "is the exertion of a general community influence on the environment round them."²⁴

Calls for strengthening parental adequacy suggested a host of approaches. They included the elimination of such social ills as discrimination against minorities, unemployment in depressed areas; poor housing; educational programs such as family-life courses for school children and parent-education classes for adults; the provision of individualized services to parents with special difficulties—parents of mentally or physically handicapped children, parents in one-parent families, and parents too immature in their development to be able to function adequately. Recommendations were made that casework be provided in all public assistance programs and that aid be available to needy but intact families, so that financially distressed fathers will not be tempted to leave home to help their families become eligible for aid to dependent children.

Unmarried mothers of several children usually come from deprived backgrounds and have known punishment all their lives, a social worker pointed out.²⁵ They need interest and protective authority to keep them out of trouble, she maintained, not more punishment.

"We are guilty of community neglect," said an-

other social worker, when we do not provide the services to help neglectful parents assume responsibility for their children.²⁶ He said that every community should have a coordinated program of: (1) services for children and their parents living in their own homes—casework counseling, homemaker services, day care services, school social services; (2) services for children who cannot be with their parents—foster family care, institutional care, emergency shelter care; adoptive services; (3) corrective services for children in conflict with the law.

A young man in a workgroup said he knew about "community neglect," because he lived in a housing project: "The agencies seem to move like satellites around the project without ever touching the needs of the people there. But they don't seem to know this."

Child Health

The normal processes of child development received considerable attention at the Conference (see pages 110-116) as did the kinds of health services that can help prevent impairment of those processes. Periodic and continuing medical care should be provided for all children, one workgroup concluded, and in its discussions there emerged considerable concern over the quality of care. In a Forum speech a professor of public health referred to "our inability to provide adequate health services to certain groups of children"—those who depend on clinics for well child care.²⁷ Pointing out that 15 percent of infants but only 4 percent of preschool children visit these clinics, he found an indication of why they were considered not "worth the effort of coming" in a study which showed that 34 physicians working in such conferences spent an average of 4 minutes with each child.

This physician and others expressed concern over the rise in the infant mortality rate and the great discrepancies in rates among geographical areas and population groups, which he linked with lack of prenatal care. This concern was carried into at least one workgroup which recommended that a forceful attack be made to lower infant mortality and morbidity rates among American Indians and other minority groups.

New or increasing dangers to public health were also brought to attention—air pollution, water pollution, radiological hazards. Pointing out that "the genetic hazards of radiation pose an ominous threat to the health of the living and unborn generations," a State health officer found it deplorable that only

a few States have launched full-scale radiological health programs.²⁸

A large portion of the attention to health was riveted on children suffering from handicaps—mental, physical, or emotional. The importance of emotional factors and interpersonal relationships in assisting or impeding treatment and rehabilitation of persons with any type of handicapped condition was especially stressed.

Considerable concern emerged over the growing numbers of children with congenital malformations, and in one workgroup a suggestion for providing eugenic counseling as a possible deterrent was made. This was, however, turned down as a recommendation on the ground that not enough is as yet known about this field.

In another workgroup there was some collision of opinions over whether mentally retarded children should attend special or regular clinics, but the group eventually decided that in view of the chronic nature of mental retardation and the past tendency to neglect these children special clinics are needed, at least now.

Over and over when discussion of the handicapped arose the need to integrate the various types of services throughout the community and to individuals throughout their lives was emphasized as was the importance of providing handicapped children with the basic health services that all children need.

Looking Back and Ahead

A look back to 1950²⁹ reveals both sameness and difference in the concerns that were bothering White House Conference delegates then and in 1960. Certainly not all the pledges to children made by the 1950 delegates had been fulfilled in the ensuing decade. (See pages 105-109.)

Many of the hotly debated issues of the memorable all-day voting session of the Midcentury Conference were still subjects of controversy in 1960. The outcomes of two of these—releasing children from public schools during school hours to attend religious classes, and making birth control information available to those who want it—were the reverse of what they were a decade ago, the advocates of each winning recommendations as they did not in 1950. As far as this reporter could find out, there was no controversy in 1960 over nursery school classes in the public schools as there had been a decade ago. On the other hand, some problems receiving only moderate attention in 1950 had been swollen into problems of deep concern by the ensuing course of

events—juvenile delinquency; the quality of TV programs; dislocations in family life caused by population movements from north to south, from country to city, from city to suburbia or to a new phenomenon, or at least one with a new name, “exurbia.”

Perhaps the problem over which concern had been most notably broadened and deepened by the sweep of historical events was racial desegregation. At the 1950 Conference one of the most bitterly fought battles occurred over a repeatedly defeated attempt by youth delegates to get through a recommendation that no similar conference ever again be held in the Nation's Capital so long as its hotel and eating facilities were barred to the Negro participants. In 1960 this battle was no longer necessary since the 10 intervening years had brought striking changes to the city of Washington, and the hotels and restaurants were generally open to everyone.

In 1950 a recommendation endorsing President Truman's civil rights program was hardly won. But in 1960 the temper of the Conference for eliminating racial discrimination from American life (North and South) met with little opposition and resulted in scores of specific recommendations concerned with schools, housing, employment, and other opportunities.

Anything involving 7,600 freely talking people is bound to provoke some criticisms. Some professional persons reported feeling frustrated in workgroups where the IBM homogenization of participants sometimes meant no common level of understanding of the subject under discussion. Some young persons said they could not communicate with adults, and some adults said the reverse. But an abundance of communication obviously took place to produce the 1,600 recommendations that poured from the workgroups. One critic predicted that the Conference's size and diffuseness of focus would prevent results “proportionate to the investment and sacrificial effort of so many people.”³⁰ He and others talked of “too much talk.” However, the chairman of the President's National Committee pointed out at the closing meeting that “talk is preliminary to action.”

Already a structure and procedures are being worked out for helping States to stimulate the kind of widespread participation in followup that went into preparing for the Conference. (See pages 102-104.) Since each participating State and national organization has already done some self-study in preparation for the Conference, their reports may be regarded at least as preliminary maps for pro-

ceeding. But some States will undoubtedly do some renewed reconnaissance and remapping in the light of the Conference's recommendations. (See page 92.)

In the closing address of the Conference, Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, commended the participants for taking a strong stand against discrimination based on race, color, or creed; for calling attention to some vital needs in the fields of education, service to the mentally and physically handicapped, control of juvenile delinquency, and public assistance; for pointing to the serious nature of manpower shortages in the service fields and to their need for research; and for underlining the importance of a personal religious faith.

Agreeing that greater financial support is needed for education, the Secretary said he believed that the "time has come to obtain agreement on what should be our investment in education as a Nation" and as to "what constitutes a fair share of responsibility" for meeting this on the part of government "at all levels" and private contributors. He also said that the Federal Government must become a "more effective partner" in determining the causes of juvenile delinquency and demonstrating ways of dealing with it.

The Secretary urged the delegates to go back to their communities determined to demonstrate "that we do believe that man has an obligation to help his neighbor realize his highest potential."

What will come of it all?

Participants are not sure. But many of them no doubt feel somewhat the way one youth participant was feeling when a newspaper reporter³¹ asked him "What good is it going to do?" Said the boy:

"I will tell you this. I came here interested in my particular subject . . . I think I'd have to say that I probably wasn't as tolerant or understanding as I am now . . . I think it's helped me, and, I hope, others. We all hope, I guess, that when we go back home we'll be able to take what was done here and bring about the changes that are necessary.

"Whether that will happen or not, well, we'll have to wait and see."

³¹ Barton, Betty; Pringle, Katharine D.: Today's children and youth. I. As viewed from the States. Richards, Edward A.: Today's children

and youth. II. As seen by national organizations. *Children*, March-April 1960.

² Oettinger, Katherine B.: The growth and meaning of White House Conferences on Children and Youth. *Children*, January-February 1960.

³ Pauline Frederick, NBC news commentator and United Nations correspondent.

⁴ Buell G. Gallagher, President, City College of New York.

⁵ Abraham J. Heschel, Professor of Jewish Ethics and Mysticism, Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

⁶ Rev. Philip Potter, Executive Secretary of the Youth Department, World Council of Churches, Geneva.

⁷ Charles A. Janeway, M.D., Department of Pediatrics, Harvard Medical School.

⁸ Very Rev. Lawrence J. McGinley, President, Fordham University.

⁹ Althea K. Hottel, former dean of women, University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰ Harry M. Lindquist, student, Harvard University.

¹¹ Talcott Parsons, Professor of Sociology, Harvard University.

¹² Alfred Kahn, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work.

¹³ Bertram M. Beck, Associate Executive Director, National Association of Social Workers.

¹⁴ Henry David, Executive Secretary, National Manpower Council, Columbia University.

¹⁵ Finis E. Engleman, Executive Secretary, American Association of School Administrators.

¹⁶ John H. Fischer, Dean, Teachers College, Columbia University.

¹⁷ Karen Sanchez, student, Wellesley College.

¹⁸ Mrs. James C. Parker, President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers.

¹⁹ Irving Gitlin, Program Executive, Creative Projects, CBS News.

²⁰ Leo H. Bartemeier, M.D., Medical Director, Seton Psychiatric Institute, Baltimore.

²¹ Chester D. Babcock, Executive Director of Instruction and Curriculum Research, Seattle Public Schools.

²² Preston A. McLendon, M.D., Professor of Pediatrics, George Washington University.

²³ Irene M. Josselyn, M.D., Institute for Psychoanalysis, Chicago.

²⁴ Lester B. Granger, Executive Director, National Urban League.

²⁵ Leontine Young, Professor of Social Administration, School of Social Administration, Ohio State University.

²⁶ Earl J. Beatt, Executive Director, Family and Children's Service, Minneapolis.

²⁷ Paul A. Harper, M.D., Professor of Public Health Administration, Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health.

²⁸ Herman E. Hilleboe, M.D., Commissioner, New York State Department of Health.

²⁹ Close, Kathryn: Youth in today's world; Conference report. *The Survey*, January 1951.

³⁰ William G. Carr, Executive Secretary, National Education Association.

³¹ Johnson, Haynes: Washington Star, April 3, 1960.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS

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ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT, March 30, 1960, 68 topic teams finished their task of preparing recommendations for presentation to the 18 White House Conference Forums from the 1,600 recommendations sent in from the workgroups. Later that night, the results were turned over to a crew of typists who worked until dawn putting each group of recommendations into form for consideration in one of the 18 Forums that afternoon. (See page 84.) But first, Forum committees looked at the recommendations to attempt the job of eliminating duplications from the topic teams.

At 2:30 that afternoon, the Forum groups met to vote on the recommendations. Some of the Forums adjourned, as was the plan, at 5 p.m. Some of them were still hotly debating issues nearly 2 hours later.

On Friday morning, April 1, Dr. Ruth A. Stout, Director of Field Programs, Kansas State Teachers Association, Topeka, told the conferees at the final plenary session at the National Guard Armory that the task assigned to her of appraising the significance of the Conference in the light of the recommendations had proved to be impossible. She told of spending the night attempting to categorize the meaning of the recommendations. Saying that a few of them seemed too insignificant for consideration, she added that she had found a universal conviction in this vast welter of words that "no child is too insignificant for consideration."

In their eagerness not to ignore a single facet of the lives of children today and tomorrow, the participants had gone overboard to be sure that their beliefs were represented; their beliefs in the essential

dignity and worth of each individual.

Here, in brief, are some of the recommendations:

Federal Action: Numerous recommendations called for increased or new forms of Federal financial aid. Among them were: Federal support to education, which when combined with increased contributions from existing resources would total at least 10 percent of our gross national product; Federal aid to schools in desegregated school districts; strengthening the Office of Education with staff, facilities, budget, and status, sufficient to fulfill Federal responsibilities for encouraging and stimulating the development of complete programs of service for exceptional children; State and Federal aid for the education and training of the mentally handicapped; extension of Federal grants for preventive health and welfare services to the States in proportion to the number of migrant farmworkers and their dependents; appropriation of funds already authorized by Congress for training and research in public assistance; expansion of technical assistance to other countries in all areas of child development and growth; additional Federal funds for training workers in family and child welfare services.

Additional Federal funds were also asked: to expand the program of the National Defense Education Act to help communities establish psychological and guidance services in elementary schools; to permit the Children's Bureau and the Office of Education to undertake research and technical assistance to States and local communities and to permit the Bureau of Public Assistance to make grants on the

basis of actual family needs; to allow the Children's Bureau to promote surveys to define and locate physically handicapped children and to analyze and coordinate programs.

Other recommendations mentioning the Children's Bureau were: Promotion of the Bureau to a major agency of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, directly under the Secretary; freedom for the Children's Bureau to make research grants directly to institutions or individuals; leadership by the Children's Bureau and a representative group of national professional organizations in recommending standards and scope of care for handicapped children and youth; experimentation by the Children's Bureau and the American Medical Association with new ways of giving health supervision to children living in sparsely settled low income areas; dissemination to localities by the Children's Bureau and the National Institute of Mental Health of materials concerning the nature, detection, and treatment of the emotionally disturbed; appropriation of Federal funds to establish effective, aggressive public educational programs regarding emotional disturbance in children, to be carried out by the National Association of Mental Health and Federal agencies such as the Public Health Service and the Children's Bureau; extension of Federal training activities to include all personnel concerned with juvenile delinquents, by a method to be jointly worked out by the Office of Education, the National Institute of Mental Health, and the Children's Bureau.

A number of recommendations suggested the creation of new Federal agencies or programs, including: Establishment of a National Human Relations Commission, with branches at State and local levels, to encourage research and formulate program and policy; establishment of a National Institute of Social Health to promote social justice for children and youth; the designation by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of a Rural Community Counselor to help communities improve the quality of their facilities and services to children and youth; establishment of a Division of Urban Affairs within the Federal structure to plan services and research needed by urban areas; development by the Federal Government of a research program in education comparable to the programs of the National Institutes of Health; institution by the Department of Defense of a policy requiring service personnel to meet their individual obligations to their children born out of wedlock in foreign countries.

Other recommendations involving the Federal Gov-

ernment were: Allocation by the FCC of more very high frequency television channels for educational uses; more direct and accelerated attention by the Federal Government to the needs and handicaps of American Indian children living on reservations; abolition of the quota system in immigration laws, which discriminates against ethnic and racial groups; cooperation of local, State, and Federal governments in helping establish a system of education, resident work centers, and camps, to give out-of-school youth useful work experience; coordination within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the planning and administration of training programs to develop a consistent public policy on manpower for health, education, and welfare.

Human Rights: Support of the principle of integration in education; revision and expansion of professional educational curricula to help alleviate prejudicial attitudes and more adequately reflect the cultural contributions and interdependence of all Americans; elimination by church, fraternal, and social organizations of restrictive admission criteria discriminating on the basis of race, color, or origin; elimination of discriminatory practices by labor unions, employers, and employment agencies; creative activity by voluntary and community agencies to encourage and promote interracial and interreligious understanding; passage of State and local laws prohibiting discrimination against minorities in the sale and rental of public or private housing; support of the nonviolent sit-in demonstrations of students in protest against segregated facilities; expanded research on the effects of segregation and discrimination in both majority and minority groups; requirement of courses in human relations in high schools and colleges; elimination of discrimination in the availability of public health and welfare facilities; establishment of a national agency to study the transition of youth of minority groups from schools to adult life.

Education: Revision of school curriculum to encourage potential dropouts to remain in school; flexible programing and revision to meet the special needs of gifted children; gearing educational programs to the specific developmental needs of early adolescents; inclusion of kindergartens as an integral part of tax-supported public school systems; an increased and improved use of television and radio in classroom instruction to supplement instruction by teacher; increased Federal support for the advancement

of the social and behavioral sciences; requirement of a minimum of a bachelor's degree and State certification for every teacher; inclusion of education for family life in the school curriculum at all age levels; increased salaries and recognition for teachers; reevaluation of the present curriculum for physically handicapped children in the light of their prevocational and vocational needs; research to help schools group children in line with their learning capacities; the release of children from school during school hours to attend religious classes.

Family Life: Expansion of family counseling services by social agencies; establishment of mental health clinics; efforts on the part of clergymen and physicians to help families resolve problems of interpersonal relationships; education for parents in developmental changes and problems of early adolescence; availability of homemaker service to families in time of need; establishment of family courts staffed with competent social workers, psychologists, and counselors; State action toward uniform marriage and divorce laws; efforts to preserve continuity in family relationships in treating and caring for children with handicapping conditions; a focus on the family as a unit by all health, welfare, housing, and recreation agencies; provision of supplemental child care services for parents of preschool children, such as day care centers, nursery schools, kindergartens, and summer day camps; provision of intensive casework service for all families receiving financial assistance; a study of family allowances as a way of undergirding family life economically; research on all phases of family life; research on "hard-to-reach" and "multiproblem" families for early identification, causes of their problems, and treatment methods; availability of facilities and programs on a public or private basis to married couples providing medical advice and services for child spacing "consistent with the creed and mores of the families being served."

Illegitimacy: Removal of provisions which restrict or deny public social services to needy children born out of wedlock, and accessibility of services for the unmarried mother; a nationwide program to interpret the needs of children born out of wedlock; State legislation to ban noting illegitimacy on a birth certificate; research on the cultural patterns into which many illegitimate children are born that conflict with present standards of society; research into the causes of the rising rate of illegitimacy; the re-

moval of statutory provisions or administrative regulations denying public assistance and other public social services to children born out of wedlock and their mothers.

Migrant Families: Development of adequate educational opportunities for the children of migratory workers; extension of minimum wage laws to cover such presently exempted industries as migratory and resident farm labor; placement of responsibility for adequate living conditions for migrant workers on the contracting grower, with Federal and State protection at least equivalent to that given migrant farm labor imported from other countries; provision of classes in family care and nutrition for migrant mothers; registration of migrant crew leaders by Federal and State Governments; enactment of State housing codes to provide decent housing for migrants, based on recommendations of the President's Committee on Migratory Labor; appointment or reactivation by Governors of State committees on migratory labor to safeguard health and welfare of migrant children and their families.

Children of Working Mothers: Availability of family homes for day care meeting good social and health standards for all children needing them; care of children under 3 in their homes in so far as possible; provision of family day care and homemaker services for infants who cannot be cared for by their own parents during the day; availability of social case work and other professional counseling services to help parents decide whether the mother's employment will contribute to the family's welfare; encouragement of industries to examine the problems of working mothers in relation to the possibilities of providing part-time jobs or shorter workweeks; research to determine the effects on children of all ages of mothers working outside the home.

Adoption and Foster Care: Inclusion in foster care programs of an effective method for early final termination of parental rights; encouragement of research in the field of adoptions with private and public funds; avoidance of unnecessary delay in making adoption placements; efforts to bring about uniformity in State adoption laws; frequent reevaluation of foster home placements to assure return of the child to his own family, if possible, or if not, placement in some other suitable permanent family home; provision of more and better adoption services for preschool-age children; provision of the

same safeguards usually given to adopted children in this country to foreign children being adopted by U.S. citizens here or abroad; provision of State standards, inspection, and licensing programs for all types of group care of children away from their homes.

Juvenile Delinquency: Dissemination of informational summaries of laws of major concern to youth and parents; establishment in communities of a central agency to pool relevant information on problem behavior of children and youth, with the full protection of confidentiality; new approaches to treatment and rehabilitation, with provisions for self-evaluation; more attention from the medical profession, including private practitioners and public health personnel, to efforts to prevent juvenile delinquency; establishment in each State of a central body to coordinate community efforts toward the prevention, treatment, and control of delinquency, and improvement of methods for early detection of delinquents; avoidance of applying such labels as "delinquency prone" and "in danger of becoming delinquent" to children on the basis of prediction scales and devices; further development of predictive devices for early identification of children who are likely to become delinquent; provision of courses in family and juvenile law in the curricula of law schools.

The Handicapped: Greater use of existing knowledge to prevent handicapping, whether from accident, illness, or congenital or developmental defects; adequate counseling programs for handicapped children and their families; uniform recording and reporting on children with mental handicaps; availability, through public health services or hospital laboratories, of programs for the diagnosis of conditions which may produce mental handicaps; consideration of neuropsychiatric disturbances in mental health clinics to give greater emphasis to the needs of the mentally retarded; financial assistance to provide nursing and medical services for mentally handicapped children, as needed; provision of all basic health services to handicapped as well as to normal children; education of physically handicapped children in regular classrooms whenever possible; continuing use of standardized procedures for reporting fetal deaths, the occurrence of congenital abnormalities and birth injuries, and the handicapping conditions discovered in infancy and childhood; research to analyze the cost of care of

children with handicapping conditions; a program to foster the international exchange of research findings and skills required for services to handicapped children.

Health Protection: A forceful attack to lower infant mortality and morbidity among American Indians and other minority groups through approaches which take into account their cultural characteristics; reevaluation of school health services with the view of providing improved instruction in health education and continuity of preschool and school health records; requirement by States or localities of inoculation of children against communicable disease; provision of periodic health examination and continuing medical and dental care for all children; widespread establishment of community health councils on an interdisciplinary basis; fluoridation of public water supplies; initiation of crash programs of accident prevention by State and local health departments; survey of the incidence of venereal diseases, with institution of appropriate educational measures to combat their rise.

Research re Youth: Research to collect information nationally on volunteer services performed by youth; to study the effects of the peacetime compulsory draft on youth; to study the reasons for early marriage; to continue the study of adolescence with a view to implementing and expanding needed programs.

Training: Provision of funds for stipends and training facilities to meet the acute shortage of adequately trained personnel in the professions serving children; extension of ancillary programs into every possible discipline to relieve the professionally trained person for the more responsible tasks; thoroughgoing study by governmental and voluntary agencies of the adequacy of existing training programs in the light of rapid advances in knowledge; increased training of medical personnel in problems concerned with the family, particularly interpersonal problems and family disorganization; readily available inservice training to keep professional practice consistent with new knowledge and developments; provision of increased salaries, prestige, and fringe benefits as incentives to attract and keep competent personnel in social engineering; establishment with Federal funds of a broad program of fellowships to meet shortages of personnel in professions serving children, youth, and parents.

YOUTH HELPS RUN A CONFERENCE

SUSANNA MATTHEWS

Member, President's National Committee for the White House Conference

W E 10 YOUNG PEOPLE who a year ago last December found ourselves thrust into the planning of a national conference involving 7,600 people hardly imagined what the Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth would be.

At that time it was difficult to know even what our role on a committee with 72 adults would be. Of course it thrilled us to receive a telegram from President Eisenhower, appointing us to the National Committee. But what would be the full impact of this telegram? Could youth really contribute to the planning of this Conference?

When we came together for the first meeting of the President's National Committee in December 1958, we questioningly stared at each other and gaped at the adults, most of whom were prominent nationally. "What can I ever contribute?"

Most of us had already been working on the State and local levels in followup of the 1950 White House Conference and had done some precommittee planning for 1960. Being a member of the Michigan Youth Advisory Council, I had had a chance to work with adults on traffic safety, juvenile delinquency, and teenage drinking. As a member of the Michigan Youth Commission, working as a liaison between youth and adults, I had looked at youth problems in relation to possible legislation. In March 1958 I went to Chicago to the Joint Conference on Children and Youth sponsored by the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, the Council of National Organizations, and the National Council of State Youth Committees. At this conference we learned of the plans for the 1960 Conference and suggested ideas for theme and program. We also recommended that youth be on the National

Committee—little realizing that some of us would be appointed.

I had met some of the adults on the National Committee in Chicago. But arriving in Washington for the first committee meeting, I felt very inadequate.

It was not long before I realized that all of the adults were vitally interested in my problems and the problems of youth throughout the country. While representatives of various professional fields, they recognized that "each man is a layman in another man's field," and it was from this premise that we began our work.

Each member was appointed to a special subcommittee of the whole committee. Youth were involved in all committees except the finance and executive committees. On the finance committee at least, experience in finances was needed—experience which few youths would have had. The executive committee demanded time that few students could afford to take away from their studies. The main concerns of the 10 of us seemed then to be interpretation of the Conference, followup, and youth participation.

I, being a member of the youth activities committee and of the committee on organization and arrangements, had more opportunities for real participation than did most of the young people. The adults were always eager to hear what I had to say. Some of the other young members on the National Committee felt they had not had the chance to contribute or at least they were not listened to.

There were such comments at the Conference as: "What good did we do? We didn't even get to plan the youth sessions."

"No youths even sat on the platform Sunday night."

"Our committee didn't even have any meetings."

Several felt they had gained nothing from being on the National Committee; yet, I cannot help but feel that if they had only looked for the opportunities they were there. Meeting outstanding people, seeing the Government in action, learning how to think and say what we felt—all these educational opportunities were provided to us. And better yet we had a vote on what kinds of meetings we would have, the topics we discussed, and special events to hold.

Looking back to the recommendations of the youth at the 1950 Conference, we determined that youth at the 1960 Conference would work together with adults rather than being a separate group, though we expected some problems. Since 1950, youth-adult participation has changed a great deal. Instead of youth groups and adult groups working separately on the same problems, we now find many groups in which youth and adults work together. While still in experimental stages in many places, such association seems to be effective. The young people benefit from the experience and wisdom of the adults and the adults gain from the enthusiasm and fresh opinions of the youth.

On the State and local levels young people had been working in large numbers on "little White House Conferences." Asked to help with State planning for the White House Conference, many of us had spoken to regional groups about the plans for the national conference and particularly on youth's role in it. In Michigan, I helped to orientate the Michigan youth coming to the Conference. National Committee members, including the 10 youth members, had spoken to local PTA's, church groups, and campus groups. Some of us had appeared on television, and others were interviewed by the press. Since youths were used a great deal locally, we felt that it was necessary to keep moving in this direction and that in order to increase youth-adult participation throughout the Nation a national conference of this kind must take the lead. However, early in our planning we also realized that youths were not going to be satisfied to sit in meetings with adults all day and have nothing special to do at night. We did not want to isolate them, but age differences indicated needs for different social activities. Young people do not seem to be happy either unless they have something to do every minute. It was in this area of youth activities that we youth members of the National Committee contributed the most.

On Sunday, March 27, close to 1,200 youths and young adults arrived in Washington to meet with

almost 6,000 adults. Sunday was a day of fun for most of us, but at 9 o'clock on Monday the work began. The afternoon work groups brought about the first discussions. On this first day, the youth, uncertain about their dealings with adults, hesitated to contribute and preferred to sit back and listen. Monday evening, the youth I talked to were totally dissatisfied with the proceedings of the day. The main complaint was that "all the adults did was sit and argue . . . we might as well go home now—they don't want to hear what we have to say." In impromptu discussions, groups of youth resolved that tomorrow would be another day—"We'll go in and show them!" Talk of what we would like to see come out of the Conference commenced—and small groups here and there acted quickly on their beliefs. "The adults don't know our concerns—they 'talk about what to do but they don't know what *we* really want to do."

Working Together

To be sure there were those who felt they had been heard but seemingly they were in the minority. There was obviously discontent among the adults, too—as they discovered they were "getting nowhere fast." Tuesday seemed to slowly draw the two groups together—and both young and old concentrated on getting something done. But other difficulties cropped up as the two groups began to work together. Some of our young friends had declared themselves "spokesmen of youth" and were on their feet every chance they could get, pushing those adults still not so sure about youth participation further to the defensive. The adults who marvel whenever youth speak nodded in amazement as our friends expounded lengthily about nothing. Tuesday, too, then brought unhappiness.

Wednesday, workgroups grasped the task of formulating recommendations. At last, youth and adults had found their roles and each person saw his role as an individual. Here it was that the minds finally met as people realized they must come out with something. The 1,600 recommendations which came through their workgroups to the Forums were products of wisdom and experience combined with enthusiasm and freshness.

Although an understanding between youth participants and adults was finally achieved Wednesday in the workgroups, some small yet significant problems still existed. Looking around the meeting rooms, one would see a group of young people sitting together and another group of adults together. In

restaurants, young people ate together and another table was surrounded by adults. In other words, communications between adults and youth in the social world were still missing. I'm not sure if this is good or bad. As I pointed out earlier the young have different social interests than adults. However, if these conflicting social interests interfere with friendships between adults and youth, then they can prevent true understanding and respect.

The worry that youths were being excluded seemed to be the catalyst for bringing youth of different States and organizations together.

Another seemingly small problem arose from the age and experience range of the young people in the Conference. The interests and concerns of the high school student and the college student are significantly different. The high school student is usually still trying to find himself and worries about the problems of the family, dating, and career. On the other hand, the college student, usually having found himself, is bothered by world and national affairs including foreign and domestic policy and education. He also experiences concerns similar to those of adults, involving developing values and ideals and improving cultural and educational facilities. Young people who are employed have still other interests—labor and economics.

The range of experience in working in public affairs complicated the matter of youth participation even further. Young people who had been involved in national programs seem to have discovered years ago things which some of those who had been involved only locally are just beginning to notice. Thus, it is very difficult for youth to present a united front. Young people because they are still involved in their own particular problems find it hard to evaluate the whole field.

One high school boy, for example, could not understand why mass media should be a concern. Civil rights seemed of little importance to him. His greatest interests were in discussion on the family, juvenile delinquency, and preparation for marriage. Another boy, in college, was engrossed with problems of civil rights and education and regarded juvenile delinquency and the family as relatively unimportant concerns.

Thursday evening offered all youths and young adults a chance to consolidate their areas of concern into priorities. Suggested priorities for achievements in the next 10 years were presented in a document drawn up by 18 youths each representing a different forum. As the session drew to a close,

many youths looked back over the week—and laughed—for they saw that not only adults argue over silly things but youths do so, too. We did take a united stand, however.

What can this be attributed to? Perhaps the few young adults and working youths in attendance were outnumbered. Or maybe the young adults, working youths, and college students together overruled the high school students; or more probably, the youths decided it was time to take a firm stand on important issues which the adults had hinted at, but had done little about. At any rate, the young people challenged the adult idea that youths are concerned with only their own small problems. They challenged the adults to reevaluate their own positions.

I am convinced that not only 1,400 youths are behind these priorities but thousands of others. I am convinced that thousands of high school and college students across the land are ready for the firm stand taken by their representatives.

Youth Priorities

Civil rights became the number one priority. In calling for substantial completion of school desegregation by 1970, equal access to housing for all individuals, and the elimination of practices discriminating against minorities the youths demonstrated that they wanted to move ahead—and fast. "In due time" was overwhelmingly defeated when proposed as a substitution for "by 1970" in connection with school desegregation. Affirming the right of all citizens to peaceful protest and nonviolent resistance the youth of the Conference set out to destroy social injustice.

Our list of priorities for Conference recommendations was not just something which happened to come up but was the result of many hours of thought and discussion. Though declarations supporting the Negro student sit-ins in the South did not achieve priority status, petitions in their regard made known the intentions of the younger generation. Not only was our civil rights stand significant in itself, but also in pushing the adoption of similar recommendations by the Forums (composed of both youth and adults). Without the work of the young people, the adults might never have taken such stands.

Our second priority asks for reemphasis of the family as a central force for democracy and education of youth in the role of the family. Because we will soon be the generation of parents, this stand may indicate there will be a reemphasis of family life in the United States.

Young people are ready for better education, as indicated by their third priority. They demand that individuals, businesses, and local, State, and Federal governments all do their share. Recognizing the problems we face in education today, we want to stop criticizing our educational opportunities and do something constructive to better them.

We accepted in our fourth priority "an obligation to support and participate in positive national policies for the attainment of world peace with justice, support of human rights, the development of world understanding through exchanges and cooperative nonmilitary assistance." Thus, we are not concerned only with ourselves but with our Nation and our world.

I do not choose to list all the priorities but would like to point out one more which illustrates one other idea. "We demand that high quality books, music, cultural attractions, radio and television programs, and libraries be widely available and that mass media take the responsibility for informing and educating youth, as well as adults." Rather than criticizing mass media, youth has again preferred to take the positive approach. We may be idealistic; yet no one ever gained anything who did not aim high.

Problems Ahead

We have taken our stands—now we must do something about them. We cannot let our chief concerns die in 3 weeks, but must continue to participate and act in these vital areas. Both youth and adults must work together or we will go back to an idea brought out frequently in State reports to the Conference—that what youth and adults want are two different things. Followup then will be a place where youth can and must participate.

In spite of these priorities, which could be the most valuable part the 1960 Conference, realistically we still have several problems confronting us. One is that young people while adding vitality to policy discussions do not have the wisdom, experience, or connections to implement their feelings. Adults are necessary. They always have been and they always will be. Therefore we must help our young friends who jeopardize our relationships with adults by showing them when to participate—and when not to. Some young people have worked very hard for many years to get the voice of youth heard. They have purposely moved slowly, only to see their relationships threatened by the aggressiveness of one youth who thinks he "knows everything."

We, who are young now, are obligated when we



Some of the youth participants in one of the many extemporaneous caucuses held by young people during the week.

become adults to remember how we felt as youths. If we earn a position of equal participation for ourselves, but close it to the next generation, where will we be? They will have to start all over again with obstinate adults who are today "struggling youth."

Recognizing that both youth and adults contribute to the problems, I feel that the one last barrier which must be removed is the fact that adults like what we say only as long as it is what they want to hear. To correct this demands clear-thinking, respectful, broadminded youth—and understanding, respectful, broadminded adults.

We have come a long way in youth participation since the first White House Conference in 1909. In order to promote still more youth participation and responsible action with adults, we must continually evaluate our roles and be worthy of the opportunities now open to us. Perhaps this is best summed up in the preamble to our priorities:

"We, as youth, recognizing that meaningful action must be based on a sense of purpose, religious beliefs, personal values, and shared ideals, are fully aware of the gap between reality and our goals. We believe that the deepening of individual values and attainment of our common ideals can be achieved only by a realistic appraisal of, and active participation in, the major issues now challenging us."

The 1960 White House Conference has challenged youth to responsible participation in public affairs. We must strive to make this challenge effective.



These Are Our Children

A popular feature of the Conference was the exhibit of more than 250 photographs showing young people of this country at play, at study, at work, in trouble—in short, living. From the files of newspapers, magazines, news services, and Government agencies, the pictures were gathered together and displayed with the technical assistance of the Eastman Kodak Company.





CONVERTING WORDS INTO ACTION

EDWARD D. GREENWOOD, M.D.

*Chairman, Followup Committee, President's National Committee,
Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth*

THE GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY White House Conference on Children and Youth has just been concluded. Planners, speakers, workgroup leaders, participants, all are now engaged in an active appraisal of the Conference. Was it worth the time and effort spent on it? Did it accomplish the goals set forth? No one can answer these questions in full because the real measure of a conference such as this depends, in large part, on what is done with the findings and recommendations.

The momentary stimulation experienced while listening to an inspiring speaker, the desire to rush home to embark on a program discussed in a workgroup can be but fleeting emotions unless adequate help, information, and leadership are available. Realizing this, the President's National Committee for the Golden Anniversary White House Conference from the beginning included Conference followup in its discussions. And on its recommendation, made last October (see *CHILDREN*, January-February 1960, page 34), a National Committee on Children and Youth was established prior to the termination of the Conference's Washington meeting in March. Purpose of the new committee is to follow-up the Conference findings when the President's National Committee dissolves sometime before October 1960.

Composed of 20 members, the new committee has five representatives from each of the organizations involved in the Conference planning: the President's National Committee; the Council of State Committees for Children and Youth; the Council of National Organizations on Children and Youth; and the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth. [See box, page 103.] These 20 members come from both public and voluntary organizations. A steering committee of the new National Committee is now at work defining the committee's functions and re-

viewing the legal aspects of transferring resources from the President's National Committee to the new committee. To obtain any funds remaining from the White House Conference operations, the new committee must present its plans for approval to the President's National Committee before the latter dissolves.

The creation of the new National Committee is a recognition of the long-existing informal coordination among the three councils representing the States, the national organizations, and the Federal Government. This type of coordination is continued in response to a widely shared feeling that a large national organization with a great deal of fanfare is not needed to do a good job in followup; that what is needed is an organization which can provide catalytic action for all groups which have an interest in seeing that a better job is done for children and youth.

The activities of the National Committee will probably include, first, development of a clearinghouse for information—information which might be common knowledge in one State or community and yet be entirely unknown in another.

This clearinghouse function would provide a way for a State to become aware not only of what other States are doing, but also of what national organizations and the Federal Government are doing or planning that will affect its children; and the reverse.

The National Committee may also help States, communities, and organizations to achieve a consistent quality in reviewing what they are doing or have done. It may help them see how an activity can be reported in a way that will convey the true picture of what is being done or what measure of success is being achieved, so that the experience can be useful to others. Some reports distort facts and gloss over

failures in an effort to achieve a glowing picture. On the other hand, some groups do valuable work and produce results but fail to publish and disseminate reports of their work. The exchange of honest reports of followup efforts can be an important step to further achievements.

The new National Committee can, however, be more than a clearinghouse. Through a widespread educational program, it can help the public become acquainted with the findings of the White House Conference so that people will look in their communities for areas which need attention. An educational program which is simple and direct can stimulate interest and feelings of responsibility among the people whose support is necessary for the achievement of goals. It can do this by focusing attention on a specific problem, a particular course of action, a single goal. However, this can only be effective if the goal is described in relation to other problems and approaches with which the community is concerned.

Among other functions for the new National Committee which have been suggested in meetings of the steering committee are: the direct publication of informational material, such as the *Conference Reporter*, now published by the White House Conference staff; finding ways of maintaining consultation services to States on White House Conference follow-

up through stimulating the use of the facilities of Federal and national agencies or providing direct consultation in response to requests; instigating research; and promoting and assisting in carrying out regional and district conferences on children and youth. Which of these suggestions, if any, will be included in the steering committee's report to the full committee is as yet undecided. When completed the report, which will also include suggestions on staffing and structural details, will be reviewed by the Executive Committee of the President's National Committee as well as by the new National Committee before being sent to the President's National Committee for approval.

State Action

The primary responsibility for followup of the Conference findings, of course, rests with the States and communities which must view them in the light of their own needs. Many States already have strong, active committees on children and youth, which must now devote themselves both to sustained effort in their current on-going programs and to implementation of White House Conference findings. Some already have plans well underway.

Some of the States already had set dates before the termination of the Washington meeting for little White House Conferences to be held in their State capitals shortly after their White House Conference delegations returned home. Indiana, for example, is holding such a conference this month. The purpose of such meetings is to review the State's report to the Governor in the light of the White House Conference findings, to set priorities for action on a State level, and to stimulate similar reviews and appropriate action within local communities.

In a number of States the structure for followup action on the White House Conference—as well as for continuing review of children's needs and of plans for meeting them—has already been established by the Governor. In some, Missouri for example, a long established commission, council, or committee on children and youth which preceded and worked with the State's committee for the White House Conference has been assigned the followup task. In others, for example Michigan, the State's liaison group for the Conference was a long established, official committee on children and youth for which Conference followup will be a natural function.

In Florida, where the Florida Children's Committee has been in operation since 1947, a little

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Representatives from the President's National Committee for the White House Conference: Mrs. Rollin Brown; Luther H. Foster; Edward D. Greenwood, M.D.; Mrs. Thomas Herlihy, Jr.; and Roy Sorenson.

From the Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth: Edward W. Aiton; Helen K. Mackintosh; Beatrice McConnell; Katherine B. Oettinger; and a fifth representative, still to be appointed.

From the National Council of State Committees on Children and Youth: Donald Brieland; Sylvia Carothers; A. Whittier Day; Mrs. J. A. Hill; and Donald S. Howard.

From the Council of National Organizations on Children and Youth: Lyle W. Ashby; Robert E. Bondy; George Corwin; Debra Partridge; and Philip E. Ryan.

White House Conference created a coordinating group, to carry somewhat the same functions within the State as the new National Committee will nationally. Composed of representatives of public and private agencies and statewide adult and youth organizations, the new group will serve as a clearinghouse for legislative information and for information on programs and needs. It will hold biennial meetings and will require written reports annually of its members. The Florida Children's Committee will serve as the new coordinating group's steering committee.

In Tennessee, followup is to be stimulated by a new State committee composed of the 64 State participants in the Conference at Washington. The committee members, each of whom will also serve on a county committee, will meet once a year beginning this May to discuss priorities for and methods of county action. Its executive committee will be the legislatively established Tennessee Commission on Youth Guidance.

In some States where no statewide committee on children and youth existed prior to the Conference, the Conference has proved to be the stimulation for the formation of a permanent group. This is what is happening in Nebraska.

If the Conference is to produce results which have meaning in the lives of children, such statewide committees will have to continue to survey the needs in their States and to help local communities with self-evaluation and action. The State reports made in preparation for the White House Conference should be regarded as the beginning rather than the conclusion of statewide citizen action in behalf of children. Unless there is already another functioning, widely representative committee on children, the committees appointed for the 1960 Conference should continue their operations, either as official bodies, or, if they are officially dissolved, as voluntary organizations of citizens who are interested in improving the health, education, and welfare of children.

For All Children

The youth participants in the Conference, with the usual directness of youth, have made some valuable suggestions and recommendations. We hope they will follow through and disseminate this infor-

mation to all the youth organizations in the country. We hope too that they will continue to be given opportunity to act in cooperation with adults. These young people are the essential nucleus for future Conferences. What they do may have an important effect on the future of their communities and States and on the future of our Nation.

The fact that over 1,000 recommendations came out of the 1960 White House Conference means either that we are in a bad way, or we are searching more carefully than previously, or that we are restating problems in different ways. Whichever meaning is correct, it poses for the new National Committee a major responsibility for helping to group these recommendations so that they can be put into a usable and workable form and to try to develop a broad design for priorities.

The conversion of words and ideas into suitable action is a difficult problem. Selection of a project and the willingness to move together in a given direction toward an agreed-upon goal demands intelligence and maturity on the part of a community's leaders. The problems themselves, whether related to children suffering from cerebral palsy, mental retardation, polio, or emotional disturbance, or to promoting positive opportunities for all children, have to be viewed critically as part of the community in which they exist. They cannot be taken out of context through national or State decrees. For example, the establishment of a better treatment center for emotionally disturbed children would be useless unless the local community saw the need for it and how it would fit into an overall program for children. Otherwise, a new center might produce more problems than it solved.

The purpose of the Conference—"to promote opportunities for children and youth to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity"—can easily become a mere cliché. Or it can remain a sincere statement expressing a real desire to accomplish what it says for all children of all religions, of all races, of all economic levels, from all parts of our country. This is a complex and distant goal. It can be reached through the efforts of people who encourage themselves and others to broaden their horizons in searching for ways of promoting the welfare of children.

Let the next White House Conference be on Reforming Adult Behavior . . . And Soon.

B. N. B., St. Louis, Mo., in a letter to the White House Conference.

*How have we kept our 1950 pledges? asked a speaker at the 1960 White House Conference.
A condensation of her address follows.*

CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN AN AFFLUENT SOCIETY

EVELINE M. BURNS, Ph. D.

*Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work,
Columbia University*

DURING THE LAST DECADE we have experienced an increase of about 40 percent in the total volume of goods and services produced in the United States. Although population has also increased sharply in this same period, individual income receivers are markedly better off. Income per head at constant prices, which was \$2,300 in 1950, will be about \$2,800 in 1960, and in the next 10 years the average is expected to rise to about \$3,500.

For our children and young people, this should mean an enhancement of economic opportunity and an assurance of the satisfaction of their material needs. To a considerable extent, this has occurred. If we think only in averages, we do indeed find that children and youth are better fed and their physical condition is improving. Their educational attainments are undoubtedly rising. Job opportunities, too, are improving.

But concentration on averages gives a false impression of the impact of this remarkable good fortune which the Nation as a whole has enjoyed. Far too many of our children and young people have not shared in this increase in economic prosperity. Children on farms have in general been left behind: in 1959 the average income of the farm population was not quite 44 percent of that of the nonfarm population. Geographical disparities in family incomes are still glaring, though there is some indication that they are diminishing. The child living in Missis-

sippi or Arkansas, where the average per capita income is only about half the national average, is unlikely to have access to the material comforts, the better housing and education, or the range of community facilities that we regard as "normal." Similarly, our economic gains have had much less of an impact on the children of nonwhite families. Whether we measure by average incomes, housing conditions, health standards, or educational attainments and job opportunities, the typical nonwhite family has lagged far behind the rest of the population in improvement.

Averages are misleading, too, if we fail to make allowance for the "bunching" of children in families. Unfortunately, income increases as the size of the family increases only up to the point where there are two children in the family. Thereafter, it actually decreases quite rapidly as the family size grows. Fifty-eight percent of the Nation's children are in families with three or more children.

In 1954, the last date for which we have detailed breakdowns, the median income of two-child families was \$4,506, while that of five-child families was only \$3,155. In that year 19.4 percent of three-children families, 31.7 of the four-children families, 47.8 of the five-children families, and 51.8 percent of the families with six or more children had annual money incomes equal to less than half the amount of the City Workers Family Budget. This is a budget based on a modest though adequate, rather than

either a luxury or a subsistence standard of living.

Averages also conceal the fact that at any given time some families have no income of their own because the breadwinner has died, is unemployed or sick, or has deserted his family. Fortunately our social security system assures income to many millions who find themselves in such circumstances. But there are still too many gaps in the net of insurance protection: the benefits afforded in many instances are very low; in many families the breadwinner is excluded from coverage of unemployment insurance; only four States assure income to families when the breadwinner is temporarily disabled; and families with a permanently disabled father under 50 years old have no social insurance rights.

The thought that public assistance exists to fill these gaps may be a comforting one, but the reality is not very comforting to those who seek such aid. In 17 of our States, public assistance is denied in some or all jurisdictions to families with an employable member. Yet the time during which unemployment insurance benefits can be paid is extremely limited in most States, and there are many "depressed areas" characterized by persistent unemployment. Moreover, many thousands of needy families are denied aid from existing programs because of the operation of residence requirements, anachronisms in a society whose economic system requires workers to be mobile.

For those who are eligible for assistance, the public assistance programs provide monthly payments so low as to condemn the recipients to a life of grinding poverty. It is a curious and shocking irony that, in a nation which talks so much of its concern for the welfare of children and young people, the lowest monthly payments are granted in the two assistance programs where a large proportion of recipients are children. The average monthly payment per recipient of Aid to Dependent Children—with 2¼ million children on the rolls—was \$28.71 at the end of 1959, and in some States it was far lower. General relief, where it existed at all, was making monthly payments averaging only \$70.97 per case of approximately three persons.

Clearly, the impact of our rising prosperity on the children and youth of this country is very uneven. The economic situation of many children living on farms, of nonwhite children, of children who reside in the poorer States, of children of large families, and of children who are the recipients of socially provided income, especially those supported through the Aid to Dependent Children program, should

cause us to hang our heads as we reread the Pledge given to children at the conclusion of the last White House Conference on Children and Youth:

We will work to raise the standard of living and to improve our economic practices, so that you may have the material basis for a full life.

The impact of our rising levels of productivity and output upon the Nation's children and youth will, of course, be greatly affected by the forms in which the Nation decides to take its extra economic wealth—by the use to which we in fact put our good fortune. As income receivers, we are in theory free to spend our incomes as we individually wish. I say "in theory" because we are all, of course, influenced by the prevailing culture and values and by our exposure to the powerful pressures of advertising. As voters, we jointly decide how much of our economic resources shall be devoted to the kinds of goods and services that can only be provided by our freely elected governments acting on our behalf and how much shall be devoted to the kinds of goods and services that, as income receivers, we can buy on the open market. The outcome of these two types of decisions is not always what is in the best interests of our children and youth.

A major need of our children is education. In recent decades the Nation has considerably raised its sights as to the level of education we should aim to assure our children. But we have not been willing to allocate a large enough share of our rising productivity to making that promise a reality. True, in 1958-59 school expenditures accounted for 3.1 percent of the gross national product as compared with pre-World War II yearly averages of about 2.4 percent. But even this larger proportion of a larger national output has not sufficed to provide an educational system that meets our current standards. Schoolrooms are overcrowded, many school buildings are antiquated; and teachers are scarce and are likely to remain so until their salaries are brought closer to those offered to workers of similar training abilities and responsibilities. To add to the problem, the school population will grow by 29 percent over the next 10 years. Even if we are to hold our own, to give the children in this larger enrollment an education no better and no worse than present standards, we shall have to devote to this end a larger proportion of our increasing income. And if we are to remove present deficiencies, we shall have to increase the proportion even more.

Or again, we can look at housing. For a nation

which lays so much stress on family life and so properly glorifies the home as the matrix of our culture, our unwillingness to devote an adequate proportion of our wealth to ensuring decent homes for all our families is little short of amazing. In 1956 the Bureau of the Census found that there were 13.1 million dwellings (24 percent of all dwellings) which were seriously substandard. Of this total, 4.2 million were "run down or neglected or of inadequate shelter or protection against the elements, or endangered the safety of the occupants." We must see that a larger fraction of our resources goes into housing (even if it means fewer gadgets or less elaborate automobiles or fewer private swimming pools) if our children and youth are to benefit as they could from our rising economic productivity.

One of the more disturbing developments of our time is the growing evidence of an increasing rate of family breakdown, whether measured by out-of-wedlock births, divorce rates, or family separation or desertion. The tensions of modern society, the complexity of life, and the precarious economic security of some sections of the population have meant that all too many families face problems of management, or of personal or emotional adjustment, in the resolution of which they need skilled help.

We know all this, and yet this knowledge is not reflected in the extent to which we devote resources to strengthening family life. The fraction of national product we devote to such welfare services as child welfare, family counseling, or rehabilitation has remained at .2 percent for 20 years.

In 1959 almost half the counties of the Nation, containing a quarter of our children, had no full-time child welfare worker. And we still use the major part of the meager resources we allocate to child welfare services for dealing with homes already broken, despite all our talk about the importance of prevention and keeping the home together. We complain about problem families and juvenile delinquency, but we do not insist that resources be made available either for training adequate professional personnel to deal with the people involved or for research that would enable us to understand better the nature and causes of these phenomena, and thus to develop more appropriate preventive and remedial measures.

Attainment of an allocation of our growing economic resources that will more surely redound to the advantage of the Nation's children and youth will make heavy demands on all of us. As individual income receivers, we need to reassess our spending

patterns. This calls for the responsible cooperation of business, advertising, and the press, and a greater willingness on the part of all of us to support community programs, both voluntary and governmental, adequately even at the cost of reducing the proportion of our private incomes that we can spend exactly as we wish. The steps toward remedying these misallocations of our resources will not be easy ones. Yet we can hardly fail to take them if we are to fulfill the White House Conference's pledges of 1950:

We will provide you with rewarding educational opportunities, so that you may develop your talents and contribute to a better world . . . We will work to conserve and improve family life . . . We will provide the conditions for wholesome play that will add to your learning, to your social experience, and to your happiness.

We must also recognize that the very increase in productivity has involved by-products that affect children and young people in other than material ways. One cause of our rising national output has been the increase in the working population. And one source of this increase is the growing tendency for mothers to enter the labor market. In the years 1948-58 the number of mothers in the labor force increased by 80 percent and the proportion of all mothers who work by almost 50 percent. There were at least 3.6 million preschool children by 1957 with mothers in the labor force.

It is evident that when a mother is away from home some form of substitute care for the children must be provided. Yet, in 1958, as many as 400,000 children under age 12 had to care for themselves while the mother worked, and a third of these were less than 10 years old. Thus we are getting at least part of our increased output too cheap—at the expense of the children for whom we fail to provide day care centers, foster family day care, or homemaker services.

Our dynamic productive economic system has another unfortunate impact on children. One of the preconditions for an economic society characterized by rapid change and expansion is that the labor force shall be highly mobile, both occupationally and geographically. But to families and children the cost of this mobility may be high. Consider, for example, the situation of the 380,000 migrant farm workers and their families; their low and uncertain income; their unsatisfactory and often disgraceful housing; the interrupted or complete lack of education of their children; the limitations on their access

to health and social services caused by their non-resident status; and among many of them the toiling of their children in the fields. The children of these migrant families can never hope to develop a sense of stability and security that comes from a feeling of "belonging" somewhere. What of them in relation to our 1950 pledge:

We will protect you against exploitation and undue hazards and help you to grow in strength?

One in five of the families in this country move in the course of a year; 13.6 percent of the families whose head is under 35 move to a different county. We do not need much imagination to guess at some of the effects of frequent moving upon the young. In addition to the effects on continuity of education, the loss of, or failure, ever to form lasting relationships with peer groups or with other persons in a familiar neighborhood, the lack of attachment to any community as "one's own"—these are some of the prices paid by children for our economically very important high worker mobility.

Of course, families do not move only in response to job opportunities. Much contemporary movement is due to the effort to secure better housing. Yet even here the impact is not always favorable. The trend to the suburbs has undoubtedly brought better and more wholesome housing and living conditions to several million children. But less thought has been given, in this movement, to the assurance of adequate educational opportunities or provision of community facilities for recreation, worship, and responsible self-government. Nor should we overlook the impact on children of the ever-lengthening "commuting time" daily undergone by the breadwinner. The father who spends 2 or 3 hours commuting to and from his job has that much less time to play his traditional role in family life.

If the movement to the suburbs has not been entirely a net gain for those who have moved, it has been little short of disastrous for many of those who continue to live in the central city. Increasingly, the core of our cities tends to be inhabited by the least economically mobile sections of our population or the newer arrivals. Their ability to afford decent housing is limited, and the capacity of the cities to build more adequate dwellings for them is restricted by the high costs of intracity building and the declining tax yields—caused by the departure of the better-off families and of industries seeking lower taxes and rents. Skyscraper apartments, dictated by economic considerations in building within the cities, are far

from the ideal answer to the need for decent family living, especially where children are quite young. Moreover, opportunities for wholesome outdoor use of leisure time recede as the suburbs increasingly fill up the surrounding open spaces.

Worse still, the limited supply of decent housing has been accompanied by what seemed at first sight a reasonable attempt to develop priorities: public housing would be reserved first of all for the most needy, the poorest. In consequence, we now face a situation in which many of our metropolitan housing projects are too largely concentrations of problem or broken families or of people who are not moving upward economically. This, too, is an unfortunate environment for children, especially those in the older age groups. Is this kind of a depressed and one-class environment likely to implement another of our 1950 pledges:

We will help you develop initiative and imagination, so that you may have the opportunity freely to create.

Our economic progress has been predicated upon advances in scientific and technical know-how. All labor market forecasts indicate a rising demand for skilled technical and professional workers and indicate that the poorly educated, untrained worker will have increasing difficulty in finding employment. Almost 40 percent more young workers will be entering the labor force during the 1960's than did so during the 1950's. Are we attaching a high enough priority to ensuring that these young people are equipped with the training and skills that will be needed if they are to find jobs?

The task is more than just assuring better education: it also implies a great expansion of guidance and counseling services so that the increasingly expensive and highly specialized training required of workers will be made available in relation to the aptitudes and interests of different categories of young people and the probable long-range requirements of industry; and so that the young people entering the labor market will be enabled to make the best use of their talents and to equip themselves with the kinds of training that will enhance their opportunities for obtaining employment. Only so can we hope to avoid both a waste of valuable manpower and the social problem of unemployed, frustrated young people.

Consideration of the impact of economic developments upon our children and youth also suggests a problem involving values. We may be in danger of

making economic progress an end in itself. Economic achievement and advancement carry social status and approval, and our concept of the good life includes a heavy, and some say, an almost exclusive, material component. These values are inevitably transmitted by our culture to the most sensitive element of our society, our youth.

Condoning as we do the glorification of economic welfare and its use as a status symbol, ought we to be surprised that some of our young people, whose levels of economic aspiration so vastly exceed their actual opportunities of achievement, become frustrated and despairing and work off their resentments in delinquent and antisocial behavior? When the good life is painted as being dependent on the possession of material goods and the attainment of satisfactions that can only be secured through the possession of money, should we be surprised that some young women recognize that these ends can be obtained more certainly by exploitation of their sex appeal than by employment in the low paid jobs that are available to them? And when the social climate seems to condone sharp practice and cheating, can we expect our young people to do other than draw the obvious moral: anything is permitted provided it brings economic success and you can get away with it?

Could it be that hitherto in our planning for the well-being of children and youth we have put rather too much emphasis on what goes on inside the family and the home, important as this undoubtedly is, and too little on the impact of the environment, economic, social, and cultural? Obviously, the influence of the home is of immense importance. It may well be a measure of our success in improving child rearing practices and fostering emotional security that not more of our youth react antisocially against the outside world when they leave the shelter of the family environment. But surely we aim to do more for our children than to equip them to tolerate frustration?

The problems of youth are significantly different from those of children, and our planning must reflect this fact. Youth is a period of looking outward, away from the family, and of assessing the world as it affects one's own future as an adult.

If all our children were assured the kind of home environment and opportunity that we know to be desirable and that our economic wealth makes possible, there would be no need for a White House Conference on Children and Youth. We are here to look facts in the face, to assess our achievements and our shortcomings as they affect our children and youth, and to search for ways of eliminating the black spots that still remain. As we "survey what we do," we shall probably find that some of our failures to attain our objectives are due to limitations of knowledge. There will be facts we need, but do not have as yet, about the extent of problems or their probable causes. There will be uncertainties as to the most effective remedies, and differences of opinion as to the best way to implement a policy even when all are agreed that it is a good one. But there are many problem areas where neither the facts, nor the desirable policies, are in dispute but where we have not yet made use of the knowledge we have.

We owe it to our youth not to evade this sobering confrontation of our stated objectives and pledges with our achievements. For young people are more literal-minded than we, who have already come to terms with the compromises and concessions that we blame on "the harsh realities of the real world." Like the child who saw that the emperor was naked, young people still expect us to mean what we say and to apply our precepts and our policies in everyday life. They are more shocked than we are by obvious discrepancies. More vulnerable to discouragement than we, for their values are as yet less fixed and their experience is briefer, they may react with a dangerous cynicism to the contrast between our achievements and our fine words and pledges about nondiscrimination, equality of access to the good things of life, and opportunities for development.

Let us, therefore, not be afraid to pinpoint our failures and to call upon the Nation—individuals, families, business, voluntary agencies, and all levels of government—to take the steps we believe to be necessary. Thus, even if we have to confess that we have not kept many of the pledges we made in 1950, we may yet live up to one:

We will illustrate by precept and example the value of integrity and the importance of moral courage.

Any expenditure of public funds for community betterment always prompts complaint about the burden of taxation. Never do we hear of the benefits of taxation.

Theodore Jackson McGee, Chairman, Housing Authority, Columbus, Ga., at the White House Conference.

The White House Conference's "leading character"—the growing child . . .

MOVING TOWARD MATURITY FROM INFANCY THROUGH ADOLESCENCE

Some White House Conference Information Sheets

Among the materials presented to the participants prior to the White House Conference were fact sheets giving some background information on the subjects of the workgroups to which they were assigned. The following six papers are the information sheets, slightly condensed, prepared for the workgroups on various stages of child growth and development. These workgroups were attached to two Forums entitled "Moving Toward Maturity," the one concerned with the periods before and the other with the periods after puberty.

INFANCY

DURING NO OTHER PERIOD of the life cycle are developmental changes so rapid and dramatic as in infancy. We have as a result of the research of the 1920's and 1930's detailed norms on the development of basic capacities in infancy: On the growth of visual coordination; grasping and locomotor skills—creeping, standing, walking; and on the higher order adaptive functions, such as memory and learning. Considerable data have been

accumulating during the past 20 years on the significance of experiences during infancy for later development. During the last 10 years much attention has been given to developing appropriate methods for studying infant "personality," and to attempts at more precise formulations of relationships between early experiences and later behavior.

It is difficult to pinpoint the ages at which complex functions and reaction-systems are established, since most of the available measures are indirect ones, requiring interpretive inferences. Even data on the age of directly observable accomplishments, such as walking or uttering the first recognizable word, although they seem to be fairly clear cut, may show considerable variation due to differing criteria. For example, our norm for the age of walking will vary, depending on whether the criterion is the first step or the ability to navigate across a room without mishap.

From birth to 1 year the infant changes from a dependent, essentially passive organism at the mercy of his environment to a toddler capable of responding selectively and with some degree of autonomy. At birth and for several weeks afterward, he probably sees the world as a diffuse, loosely organized mass of stimuli; his responses tend to be global, involving his total organism. During the first 3 months his perceptual capacities develop rapidly; he becomes increasingly capable of respond-

ing selectively; he is able to ignore some stimuli; and his responses become more focused and more appropriately adapted to the characteristics of the stimuli. From 3 to 9 months the infant's control over his environment increases progressively, with the development and refinement of grasping skills and with growing perceptual discrimination. With the achievement of independent locomotion when he is about a year old, the infant enters into a new period of greater autonomy and increasing mastery of his environment.

From birth to 6 months the infant's social characteristics show dramatic changes. From the fleeting orientation to the voice or face of other social beings during the first month, he progresses rapidly to responsive smiling, then to reaching out and establishing social contact physically as well as through rudimentary vocal communication. Very early in life he distinguishes his own mother from other social objects in the environment. Long before he gives evidence of being able to make the simpler discrimination between a square and a triangle, he seems able to make the more complex differentiation between his mother and another friendly woman. Although the ability to make complex sensory discriminations is not apparent before the preschool years, there is much *indirect* evidence that the infant at a very early age is sensitive to rather subtle manifestations of feeling and slight variations in feeling tones in his environment.

How does the infant develop a sense of personal identity, a self-concept? It is assumed that this comes about gradually through the experience of frustration, as a result of his needs not being immediately or completely gratified. Although the optimum dose of frustration is not known, we do know that repeated strong doses of frustration may be harmful. The infant who is constantly in a state of strong need-tension may have difficulty in relating to the outer world, and may become set in the tendency to perceive the outer world as hostile, threatening, or unpredictable. Consistency in handling the infant results in environmental predictability, which may play an important role in the growth of self-awareness and healthy ego-development in the infant.

The importance of the earliest period of life for later development has become part of modern folklore. There are rather clear data indicating that simple learning mechanisms operate even before birth; simple conditioning may occur in utero. Simple associative learning clearly goes on from the moment of birth.

In view of the great plasticity of the infant organism, infant care practices may be highly significant in setting the course of later development. Through learning the infant becomes sensitized to specific experiences; feelings, positive and negative, become conditioned to environmental events. The accumulating evidence, however, does not support the assumption that a single experience, such as early weaning or strict toilet training, is in itself sufficient to have a specific effect. Research findings point to the importance of the total atmosphere in which an event occurs, especially the relationship with the mother in determining its impact.

Research on infant care has begun to shift from exclusive focus on specific practices to the interactive aspects of the mother-infant relationship. It is recognized that the mother's behavior toward an infant is significantly influenced by the infant's unique characteristics.

Data on infants document a wide range of individual differences in basic sensitivities to sound, touch, visual stimulation, and other environmental intrusions; differences in general reactivity; and, possibly, differences in tendencies to externalize or internalize tension. The impact of any given environmental event will be influenced by individual differences in sensitivities as well as by the developmental stage of the infant. The importance of the specific time in development at which an experience occurs has been pointed up by research on animals. Normative data on the characteristics of human infants—their perceptual awareness, their learning capabilities, and their response potentialities—provide clues to changing sensitivities and vulnerabilities at different ages. Finally, there is increasing recognition that the long-term effects of any given experience can be reinforced or attenuated by subsequent events.

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EARLY CHILDHOOD

EARLY CHILDHOOD is characterized by some behavior which is primarily an extension and elaboration of earlier developments. Children enter this period having recently made dramatic gains in posture, balance, and locomotion. They are, as a result, deeply involved in extending this new-found mas-

tery of their bodies, and seemingly, are filled with almost boundless energy. All opportunities to be active hold great appeal: walking, running, jumping, riding, pushing, pulling, rolling, balancing, swinging, sliding, hopping, skipping. Equally alluring are activities which provide the chance for practice and growing perfection of hand and finger skills and of hand-eye coordination.

In part because of this surge of new physical powers, the child in this period is exceedingly aware of his new-found self. He relishes opportunities for bigness and independence. This concern shows itself, at times, in an overinsistence on making decisions and choices and on having one's own way. It shows itself in a fierce determination to "do-it-myself" in dressing, eating, and carrying out other daily routines.

These independence-conscious children still remain fundamentally dependent. Despite its frequent assertion, the self is not yet sure enough of its own strength to be able easily and gracefully to wait, to postpone, to share, to give in. Especially in times of stress—when hurt, fatigued, frightened—children in this period turn almost automatically to mother or her substitute for comfort, support, assurance. And, at all times they exhibit a steady ongoing deep welcome of any evidence of warmth, love, good humor, and gentleness from the important "big people" in their lives.

Early childhood is also characterized by some behavior which seems new because it stands out so prominently, although it has roots in earlier development—the almost consuming interest in playmates. Home and parents remain the basically important factors in the child's life but to these is added a fascination with other children. This is a highly social period, and friends are very important. At the beginning there is satisfaction in simply being near others; this develops into a zest for being intricately involved in cooperative play. Because of their only recently discovered sense of self and because they are beginners in social intercourse, children in this period are at their best with small numbers of age mates.

Another new development is great verbal output. Children in this period talk almost constantly, even when alone. Noise goes along with all their movement, and seems to delight them. There is much experimentation with words and their effect on people. There is also apt to be some name calling, arguing, and threatening, in part related to the child's deep desire for bigness and in part replacing the kicking,

biting, and pommeling of the child's earlier years.

Conversation increasingly involves the give-and-take of ideas, although often children simply take turns talking, not necessarily responding to each other. Questions are numerous, a symbol of the fact that the mind is also exceedingly active at this period. They begin with the simple "Whaddat?" but move on to more complex probing about what things are for, where they come from, what can be done with them.

These children do not simply take the other fellow's word for anything. They want to touch, see, smell, taste, use all their senses for learning. Primarily firsthand scholars, their strongest interest is apt to be aroused by the tangible things that they encounter from day to day.

The dominant new characteristic of this period is the make-believe. Almost everything the child does—his social activity, his physical activity—is thoroughly stamped by his imagination. Most commonly, the jumping-off point for dramatic play is some part of the real world to which the child's curiosity has led him. Whatever form the make-believe takes, however, one of two tones, reflecting the underlying concerns of the child, is apt to pervade it: The child is either in a role of the big and the strong or the powerful, or in a role of where he can be small, protected, and dependent. The child's play is always marked by the kind of absorption, intensity, and attention span that is associated with adult hard work.

Early childhood is also characterized by some behavior which foreshadows what lies ahead. The children remain quite impulsive, egocentric, and full of themselves throughout the span, but toward the end of the period, there are many evidences of growing awareness of what others want and of growing desire to please others. Sheer manipulation of and experimentation with materials continues. However, the gradual development toward representation in children's paintings is one evidence, among many, that the child in this period begins to use the power he has been building up to fit into a real world of real things.

Imagination persists strongly throughout early childhood, but an interest begins to emerge in simple games that are played by fixed rules. While physical activity and sensory experiences continue to delight, there slowly develops a selective awareness of symbols, of words. Having found the world enticing through their explorations, having found adults trustworthy and good and their own peers satisfy-

ing, having found their own strength, children emerging from early childhood give signs of being comfortably ready to move further out into the world.

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THE EARLY SCHOOL YEARS

IN THE EARLY SCHOOL YEARS, as the child loses his baby teeth, his physical appearance alters in ways that quite accurately mirror the inner changes taking place. At age 6 he is moving away from the close ties with his family into the more impersonal spheres of school and neighborhood. He has to learn to measure up to two new sets of standards: Those of society at large, as embodied in the school, and those of the society of children, which he is now entering. Acceptance into the latter requires that he demonstrate his skill or prowess, master the tribal lore of chant, game, and ritual that is passed from childhood generation to childhood generation, and observe the code of the peer group—"No snitching to the grownups!"

Today with the spread of preschool education, many children move out into the world earlier and more gradually than before, but ages 6 and 7 are still a time of important transitions and hence of considerable anxiety. By the age of 8 or 9, children have usually achieved the smooth competence and self-assurance that mark them as fully established in the middle years of childhood.

The child takes over the new sets of standards and applies them, often with undue harshness, to himself. Although at 6 he still sees adults as wonderful, all-powerful beings, he is developing both a strong sense of privacy and a close affiliation with his peers. For a 7- or 8-year-old the worst "sin" is to be in any way different from other children. As a result, he doggedly applies himself to learning the games, chants, rituals, jokes, riddles, and stunts of this period, and to acquiring the skills that mark him as a full-fledged member of the neighborhood "gang." He apes the dress and mannerisms of older children and subscribes to the group code, even when it runs sharply counter to his own, his family's, and the school's.

At these ages boys and girls begin, for a while, to go their separate ways, partly because their tradi-

tions and abilities diverge, partly because the same-sex peer group decrees contempt for the other sex, and perhaps partly as a defense against sexuality. The girl's peer culture is in general closer than the boy's to adult values.

Throughout this period children continue to love their parents, but shun public manifestations of affection. Their love alternates with a shrewd skepticism, and they are quick to protest either babying or apparent injustice. The war cry is, "It's not fair!" An excess of scheduled activity and adult direction in out-of-school hours can smother the natural childhood-centered life of children.

In school the child must cope with a whole new realm of abstractions—of words and letters and numbers, and, increasingly, of general facts and important principles. He has a voracious curiosity; he can absorb and retain quantities of knowledge; but he still finds difficulty in organizing and combining what he learns. Obviously, good teaching can help him in this direction.

How well the child can assimilate school learning also depends on the richness and variety of his earlier experience, on the values his family attaches to learning, and on his family's use of the printed word and other symbols. The things to which children are exposed before they reach school age have changed radically in recent years, partly because of the mobility of families today and partly because of such media as television.

Some investigators have suggested that we will have to revise certain of our ideas about learning readiness. Children can probably learn a lot more than we give them credit for, if only we can find the right kinds of challenges. Education has still to investigate and apply both the theory of "critical periods"—the notion that there may be optimal times for certain kinds of learning—and the concept of "learning to learn," which suggests a kind of inter-facilitation among learnings even when these are not directly related.

The most skillfully devised curricula and teaching techniques can never be an adequate substitute for the wise, mature, stable, well-informed teacher who can spark her pupils' curiosity and release their energy; who can work with them rather than on them or against them, and who can, without intruding, help children in all areas of learning, including the learning of social relationships.

In summary, the early school years are a time of directness and innocence, of anxiety, literalism, moralism, "magicalism," superstition, and rigidity.

But they are also the years in which the foundations of the child's mastery of reality are being laid, and in which he is learning to deal with people in ways that will serve him all his life.

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PRE-ADOLESCENCE

THE 9- OR 10-YEAR-OLD is in one of life's most stable periods, emotionally and physiologically. He has grown into his body proportions—although he will soon grow out of them. He is self-possessed, competent, energetic, enthusiastic, and clearheaded. He has outgrown many of the anxieties and rigidities of the beginning school years, and it is only at the approach of adolescence that he will have to begin wrestling with problems of identity, values, sexuality, jobs, and adult responsibility.

Ages 8 to 11, perhaps, are the years in which the child is most wholly a child, looking neither back nor forward but content to be what he is, a player both of ritualistic and of competitive games, a skillful bike rider and swimmer, a boisterous attendant at Saturday movie matinees, an insatiable glutton, a talker of pig Latin and a writer of codes, a shunner of bathtubs, a master of bland guile, an adventurer. But if the child enters pre-adolescence dirty, he leaves it clean; he enters it self-assured and leaves it self-conscious; he enters it a child and leaves it as the in-between creature, an adolescent.

There are marked differences between the behavior of the sexes in these years, as a visit to any junior high school will attest. By the age 10 or 11, about half of the girls have begun blossoming into young ladies, while the boys are still high pitched and rowdy. Recently, however, change has come over the behavior of children in the middle and late school years—a decided acceleration of social development. This is exemplified by dating (and even going steady), by dandyism in boys, and by lipstick, nylons, and high heels for girls, even as young as 9. Along with this acceleration goes an unprecedented "maturity"—or semblance of maturity. This new pseudo-maturity may seem to simplify some of the problems of adolescence and young adulthood, but there is real danger that it may obstruct growth into genuine maturity. Children who go through this forcing process may be missing out on the real joys of childhood.

The late school years are the age when high spirits, defiance of adults, and an urge to try oneself out may spill over into vandalism, delinquency, and violence. Now the term "gang" may take on sinister connotations. Whether or not this happens depends a great deal on the neighborhood and its values and institutions. Vital, too, are relationships with parents: present relationships that may drive a child into delinquency as a protest against neglect, indifference, or hostility; and earlier relationships, that did or did not make for a sense of identity and the development of a conscience.

In this period, the conscience is not fully developed and therefore not wholly dependable. Hopefully, it is flexible enough to allow the child to experiment, even in ways that may seem unwholesome to adults, but solid enough to stop him short of behavior harmful to himself or others. Parents can still reinforce a child's conscience, but it is too late to start instilling one.

The "halcyon days" of childhood used to represent an area of freedom bounded by adult authority and values. Nowadays, the child's childhood is more ambiguous and so are the authority and values of his parents. Many parents no longer feel sure of their values, and many others hesitate to assert their own values, especially when they fear that to do so might make their child "unpopular." Childhood has been cut short by pressure to be an adolescent quickly, by the garishly glamorous role we have given the teenager, by the irrelevant intrusion of adults into areas that used to belong to the child, and by adults' abdication of areas that used to belong to them.

JOSEPH CHURCH and L. JOSEPH STONE

EARLY ADOLESCENCE

NEARLY ALL HUMAN BEINGS go through essentially the same pattern and sequence of body growth. But individuals vary greatly in the rate at which they move through this patterned sequence. Girls who reach physical maturity early may enter adolescence by the age of 10, while girls who are late in maturing may not truly become adolescents until they are past 16; the average age is around 13. For boys, the earliest to mature begin adolescence before age 11, the average begin adolescence at about 14, and the latest at about 17.

Major developmental tasks associated with physical growth during early adolescence include: learning to manage a rapidly growing body, learning to accept the kind of physique that comes with reproductive maturity, and learning to understand and manage the new concerns about body functions that emerge with full gonadal development.

In our society, the activities, customs, and codes of peer groups in early adolescence vary markedly from those of preadolescence. Consequently, learning the skills and customs required for early adolescent peer-group participation is a major developmental task. The need to belong is so strong at this stage that conformity to peer-group customs and codes is a compelling motivation.

Especially important in early adolescence is the learning of sex-appropriate skills in grooming, in games, and in social behavior to accord with peer-group standards. Equally significant is learning how to interact with peers of the opposite sex so as to win prestige with them.

With the experience of organic maturing, children tend to seek greater freedom to decide upon their own behavior.

These youngsters need the love of parents, siblings, peers, teachers, and other adults important to them as a basis for emotional security while working at their difficult developmental tasks. Unfortunately, withdrawal of affection is often used as a means of punishing them or of pressing them into social conformity. The consequent emotional insecurity may give rise to hostility or to self-doubt.

Early adolescence is the time, in our culture, when choices are made at home and at school which markedly limit or broaden the vocational, social, and recreational activities that will be open to the individual during adult life.

Research concerning the growth of intelligence suggests that the potential for giftedness occurs with considerable frequency in all social classes and in all racial and ethnic groups in our country. Physical and social environments that impoverish the experience of children and youth seem to result in progressively lower scores on intelligence tests for early adolescents living under these conditions. In contrast, youths from experientially rich and stimulating environments seem to achieve progressively higher scores and to grow in capacity during a longer period.

Available evidence does not support the conclusion that early adolescence is necessarily a time of great emotional stress for either boys or girls. The amount

of anxiety, inner conflict, and emotional stress seems to depend rather upon the degree to which the individual is successful in accomplishing the developmental tasks peculiar to his or her maturity level and in meeting the expectancies and demands of home, school, and other social institutions in which he or she is playing roles.

The younger adolescent's concept of himself—the way he sees himself, the way he feels about himself in his world—seems to be influenced by a considerable number of factors. These include: his physical attractiveness and grooming; his organic health and vigor or organic inadequacies; his skill in managing his body; emotional security or insecurity based upon the climate of love in which he lives; the richness or meagerness of his background of experience; the racial, ethnic, and social class cultures he has internalized; the roles and status he has achieved in his peer group; the adequacy with which he has met the expectancies and demands of home, school, and other institutions; the kinds of adjustment mechanisms he habitually uses. In turn, the way he sees himself in relation to the world profoundly influences the meaning he perceives in each specific current situation and, consequently, his behavior in that situation.

Children in early adolescence tend to vary more widely in each characteristic significant for their learning and adjustment than do younger children. For this reason, persons and institutions responsible for working with them can make valid judgments about their motivations and needs *only* on the basis of extensive and accurate information about *individual* boys and girls.

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LATER ADOLESCENCE

THE OLDER ADOLESCENT'S concept of himself, the way he sees himself in his world, is shaped by the same constellation of factors that influences the younger adolescent—in short, the climate of love and expectancy in which he lives and his skill in living up to his own and others' expectations of him.

These factors are causally related to the success or failure each individual has had in accomplishing his early-adolescent developmental tasks. How he feels about himself and the world he knows depends

greatly upon whether or not he perceives himself as having successfully resolved these earlier developmental tasks. If he sees himself as having failed to meet them adequately, then adjustment mechanisms emerge and either withdrawal or compensatory activities arise. A developmental task not accomplished in the appropriate period of life remains a troublesome adjustment problem later.

But the youth in late adolescence faces new developmental tasks, evoked by his awareness of his own maturing in the context of the expectancies and demands of his family and of society. Especially significant among these is choosing, preparing for, and, in some instances, entering a vocation. He needs to learn what vocational opportunities exist for a person of his capacities, characteristics, and aptitudes; to explore what it is really like to engage in possible vocations; to ascertain the ways one can prepare for them; to know himself well enough to make a wise choice; and to plan and take the necessary steps to prepare for the chosen vocational activity.

Scant help is afforded today to most older adolescents in this quest for a vocational role; indeed, many blocks are thrown in their way when it comes to try-out and training experiences on the job.

Sensing his approach toward adult roles and responsibilities, the older adolescent usually asks himself what he really values and what he really believes in. For years he has been expected to (and usually does) accept the teachings of home, school, church, and significant adults as true indicators of reality. Some are content to continue in this pattern. But many, discerning a marked discrepancy between the precepts usually expressed by adults and actual operations in government, business, education, and personal living, repeatedly ask themselves and their peers (in effect): "What is there to really believe in?" "What is worth effort, sacrifice, and risk in the world we know?" "By what dedication, if any, can I fulfill my need for significance?"

Obviously the answers arrived at by boys and girls in late adolescence depend upon their cumulative per-

ceptions of the world and of the "successful" people of our society.

Research has shown that older adolescents' concepts of God, heaven, the purpose of prayer, and the possibility of immortality are distinctly different from those held by 12- to 15-year-olds. The implication is that the youth in his late teens is seeking his own orientation in the universe and eternity, as well as struggling to crystallize a set of values and a moral code by which to live in the world he is discovering. Consequently, religious beliefs are generally reexamined and often altered during later adolescence.

Developing the skills required for successful courtship and exploring the problem of choosing a marriage partner also preoccupy these young people. Prevailing myths about romantic love, the stirring sensations accompanying pre-coital sexual explorations, stressful personal relationships at home, and the lack of clear-cut teaching about what love really is leave many older adolescents confused about what constitutes a satisfactory interpersonal basis for a stable and happy marriage.

A pervading sense of anxiety among the older teenagers has been discerned and described by many persons studying or working with this age group. It is an anxiety related to directionlessness. The widespread geographic mobility of families has robbed many young people of roots of any depth in any particular community. The cold war, the threat of damage to the human race by atomic fallout and of annihilation by atomic warfare, and the lack of any generally accepted sense of national purpose to move toward some cherished goal may help to account for it. Boys face the additional stress of being drafted for military service. Even more disturbing could be the extreme scarcity of activities having genuine social usefulness which older adolescents can undertake as natural and generally valued steps toward assuming full adult responsibilities.

DANIEL A. PRESCOTT

Boys and girls are not delivered as raw materials at the school door. They are already products—products of five or six years of processing in their homes. More and more, we realize that what the school can do to develop a child's potential is limited by what the home has already done, and is doing, to him and for him.

Mrs. James C. Parker, President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers

HERE AND THERE

Report to Congress on Juvenile Delinquency

"The factors related to the occurrence of juvenile delinquency are so numerous and complex that only extremely well-coordinated approaches utilizing all of the governmental and nongovernmental resources of our society—local, State, and national—can hope to be effective in curbing the present trend."

This is one of the eight major findings contained in a joint report on juvenile delinquency prepared by the National Institute of Mental Health and the Children's Bureau and presented to the Congress late in February by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The other findings in brief are:

- Both the rate of delinquency and the numbers of delinquents are rising.
- While most prevalent in deteriorated sections of large cities, delinquency's most rapid rate of increase is in small towns and rural areas.
- While more of the kinds of services now offered to rehabilitate delinquents are needed, new approaches, techniques, and methods for dealing with delinquents are needed even more.
- While there are some hopeful leads to the prediction of delinquency in children and techniques of prevention, these are "still to be developed" as useful tools.
- Today's preventive and treatment services are impeded by lack of coordination, personnel shortages, and inadequate financing.
- Research, field and pilot studies, and demonstration projects are needed for finding effective ways of dealing with juvenile delinquency.
- The organization, coordination, and staffing of agencies having responsibility for dealing with the problems of delinquency need strengthening.

The report suggests that the Federal Government, through a number of its administrative departments, can play a leadership role in solution of the delinquency problem. It specifically recommends two major parts for the Department of Health, Education, and

Welfare: (1) increasing its support of research, field and pilot studies, and demonstration projects concerned with the causes of, and techniques of preventing and dealing with, delinquency; and (2) helping to alleviate the shortage of adequately trained personnel through: (a) studies of methods for incorporating knowledge from the behavioral, social, and psychiatric sciences into the training of those who deal directly with delinquents; and (b) the "pilot development" of content of training "to increase the ability" of psychiatrists, psychologists, and social scientists "to make contributions in the field of juvenile delinquency."

Summary of Studies

The body of the report summarizes the results of 8 months of fact- and opinion-gathering by the two agencies, charged last year by the Appropriations Committees of both Houses of Congress with studying and reporting on the problem of juvenile delinquency. (See *CHILDREN*, November-December 1959, page 235.) It is supplemented by 10 volumes of supporting documents.

Beginning with a definition of juvenile delinquency as "acts by children of a specific age range—acts forbidden by law," the report points to the importance of differentiating between delinquency and "the ever-recurring non-conformity of youth." It suggests, however, that "some behaviors of children that do not constitute delinquency" are "warning signals" which must be dealt with in any consideration of the problem.

The report refers to statistics showing that the rate of delinquency reported from juvenile courts doubled in the decade between 1948 and 1958, and suggests a parallel to this in the rise of juvenile delinquency in the 1920's "when some features of our society resembled some of those of today." It points out that since World War II outbreaks of juvenile delinquency have occurred in many of the countries of the world.

After reminders that "knowledge of causes does not always result in ability to control a problem" and, conversely,

that control is "not always completely dependent upon full understanding of causation" the report discusses the social and psychological factors "related" to delinquency. High delinquency areas, it says, are characterized not only by physical deterioration but by heterogeneous moral standards, lack of neighborhood solidarity, lack of opportunities for youth, and the presence of "successful" members of the underworld.

"Children learn from what they see around them, not merely from what they are told," says the report, referring to sociological theories of delinquent subcultures. These it describes as reactions of youth in low-income areas to the feeling of being disadvantaged in the competition for social success and material wealth and to their awareness of "the prevalence of illegal activities and departures from morality" that occur in the larger society.

The report also refers to psychological pathologies as productive of delinquency, pointing out that while these occur in any type of neighborhood, "the conditions of family life in underprivileged areas operate to increase the probability of psychological disorder among children." Children expressing psychological disturbance through delinquent behavior may be able to recruit other children to such behavior, it suggests. But it adds that "the problem of delinquency cannot be approached only, or even primarily, through the individual delinquent."

Methods of Control

In discussing ways in which delinquency might be reduced, the report suggests two points of attack: (1) individual or group treatment of delinquents or "those verging on delinquency" and their parents; and (2) changing those aspects of all children's environment thought to be conducive to delinquency. It points out that studies to evaluate the effectiveness of clinical treatment have been "inconclusive" and warns against exclusive reliance on clinical methods. It suggests, however, that the apparent ineffectiveness of some attempts at clinical treatment of delinquents may be due to the absence either of "appropriate conditions for therapeutic contact" or of needed health, educational, recreational, or vocational services.

While the report states that the first

symptoms of delinquency often appear in early childhood, it enumerates various problems besetting efforts to develop techniques for identifying "pre-delinquents" and warns that stigmatizing a child by mistaken identification may in itself lead to delinquency.

The report suggests a "promising plan" for a community program of delinquency control embracing three approaches: (1) an integration of the community clinical and treatment facilities for children with behavior problems; (2) the stimulation of concern for such children on the part of the schools, the churches, recreational facilities, employment services, and other "nontreatment agencies"; (3) an organized "arm for reaching out" into high delinquency areas through group-work with street corner gangs and through aggressive casework with multiproblem families. Underscored as important in these efforts are vocational counseling and work-study programs to help young people in the transition from school to work, and the use of the school system for detecting signs of potential delinquency and providing remedial counseling and other specialized services through school social workers and guidance personnel.

Calling the "absence of systematic research" one of the most serious problems in relation to delinquency, the report discusses the difficulties inherent in longitudinal studies. It advocates analysis of delinquency data developed by other countries, especially in relation to the effects of urbanization, industrialization, social mobility, changes in family structure, and economic patterns. It also advocates research relating to social roles, to the way young people bridge the gaps between childhood and adulthood, and to the effects on personality of the ways families transmit cultural values; and "action research" projects integrating basic research and its application.

The "single most important fact about delinquency," according to the report, is that it includes "a wide variety of behaviors as well as a wide diversity of contributing factors." The report puts the chief responsibility for prevention on "the social institutions through which children are reared and prepared" for life, including the family, church, school, and neighborhood. These, it maintains, are in turn largely dependent on the character of society's

values and goals and on the correspondence between these and the means provided for achieving them.

The report, entitled "Report to the Congress on Juvenile Delinquency," is available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (Price 35 cents.)

WHC Publications

Three additional volumes of materials, published by the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, came off the press in mid-March and were distributed to the 7,600 Conference participants. They include: "Children and Youth in the 1960's," a collection of papers surveying each of the major themes of the Conference (340 pages, \$2); "Focus on Children and Youth," a report of the Council of National Organizations on Children and Youth on the major points made in reports submitted by its affiliated organizations (355 pages, \$1.50); and "The States Report on Children and Youth," a summary of the concerns and recommendations contained in the States' reports to the Conference (232 pages, \$1.50).

Two other volumes were put on sale at the Conference: "Reference Papers on Children and Youth," a collection of technical papers (294 pages, \$1.50); and "Information Sheets on Children and Youth," a compilation of all the fact sheets prepared for the 210 workgroups of the Conference (302 pages, \$1.25). All the volumes may be ordered through the Conference (330 Independence Avenue, Washington 25, D.C.), with the addition of a 25 cents charge for mailing.

The survey papers, grouped under five headings—The Current Scene, Beliefs and Values, Services, Special Problems, and Community Action—discuss among other subjects: suburban living; religious development; health, education, employment, and leisure-time services to children and youth; minority-group status; migrant families; family disorganization; children and young people who are physically handicapped, retarded, disturbed, or delinquent; and human resources for services to children and youth.

"The States Report on Children and Youth" describes the "grassroots activities" in gathering the material for the reports, evidences of progress in meeting various needs of children during

the past decade, and major current problems.

The report of the national organizations focuses on the changing scene affecting children's social and economic welfare, education, health, religious heritage, intergroup relations, vocational opportunities, and leisure-time activities, from the point of view of agencies serving these interests. Chapters are also devoted to children with special problems—the ethnic and racial minorities, the mentally retarded, and the emotionally disturbed.

The technical papers in the reference volume contain theoretical presentations on the effects of social and cultural practices on personality development and some statistically documented reports on specific social and health problems, including among others racial discrimination, lack of employment opportunities, school leaving, accidents, allergies, delinquency, drug addiction, and pornography.

Other materials available from the Conference are three volumes of background papers entitled "The Nation's Children" (price \$6), and a chart book, "Children in a Changing World" (price \$1.25). See CHILDREN, March-April 1960, page 77.

New UNICEF Services

Four UNICEF social service projects, the first of their kind under a program authorized by the Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund in 1959, were approved by the Board at its March 1960 meeting. Under the projects, to be carried out in cooperation with the U.N. Bureau of Social Affairs, UNICEF aid will be provided to Guatemala, Uganda, Turkey, and the United Arab Republic (Egypt) for improving social services to children needing care outside their own homes. All four projects will emphasize the training of child-care personnel.

The aid will be in the form of teaching aids such as audiovisual equipment for use in the training of personnel, motor vehicles for use in supervision and training, playground equipment, and in some instances salaries for teaching staff and stipends for trainees. The total amount of UNICEF funds involved in the four projects will come to \$110,500.

The four recipient governments have agreed to undertake the strengthening and coordination of their social services,

to develop inservice and special training courses, to improve existing day-care and community centers, to survey social needs, and to add whatever protective legislation need indicates.

In addition to the four social service projects the UNICEF's Executive Board approved projects to aid mothercraft and homecraft activities in Morocco, Tanganyika, and Uganda. The aid, to be given in the form of teaching and training equipment, stipends for trainees, and transportation, is designed to complement or prepare for the development of social services for children.

For the past year the United Nations has had a special child-welfare consultant in its Bureau of Social Affairs, helping interested governments plan the development of their social service programs, with UNICEF assistance.

Public Housing

Through a Joint Committee on Housing and Welfare the National Social Welfare Assembly and the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials recently developed a set of fundamental principles for public housing rentals for families receiving public assistance. Among them are: That families receiving public assistance and other low-income families should have equal access to public housing; that localities should obtain the full annual Federal contribution for housing authorized by law; that rentals for families receiving public assistance should be based on full operating costs; that such rentals should be set on a citywide rather than a project basis; that public assistance families should not be discriminated against in tenant selection; that public housing and public welfare officials should join in making sure that the maximum social benefits are obtained by the families from the housing and public welfare programs.

A subcommittee of the joint committee, after a year's observation of a local housing authority which had run into serious difficulties, has drafted a discussion outline of principles to guide initiation and administration of a public housing program. Emphasizing the broad social implications of such programs, the statement maintains, among other points, that housing authority commissioners should be selected largely on their ability to understand community problems and relationships,

that project managers should possess a social philosophy consistent with a housing authority's purpose, and that social agencies should help to bring such officials and the whole community an understanding of the social factors involved in a housing program.

The statement also declares that the housing authority should see that social work skills be made available to project residents, at least through referral to appropriate agencies, and that social agencies should unite to focus on problems related to housing and should join with housing authorities in helping to prevent family breakdown in housing projects.

It suggests that the authorities avoid concentrating identifiable minorities or families with serious social handicaps in specific projects thus tending to isolate them from the general community. It also urges public assistance agencies and housing authorities to develop a good working relationship.

Copies of both statements are available from the National Social Welfare Assembly, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, and the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 815 17th Street NW, Washington 6, D.C.

Nutrition

A mixture known as Incaparina has proved satisfactory as a source of protein for young children in field trials over a 4-month period in several rural communities in the highlands and lowlands of Central America, according to a report from the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (INCAP). The product is the result of several years of effort by INCAP to develop a mixture of native vegetable products that in combination would compare favorably with milk in protein value. The purpose is to combat protein malnutrition, a major cause of illness and death among preschool children in some tropical areas where cow's milk is not readily available and supplies of other animal proteins of high nutritional value, such as meat, fish, and eggs, are scarce. According to the report, the trials showed that mothers liked the supplement because it was easy to prepare and that children took it readily and made satisfactory progress.

Incaparina has since been offered for sale in another community at a cost of 3 cents for a package for one day's

supplementation. Purchases have been encouraging. Consideration is being given to commercial production of the supplement in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

Japanese children in elementary and secondary schools today are much healthier than their prewar counterparts, according to a report from the Japanese Government. They have better health habits, are freer of colds, have greater immunity from the common diseases of children and have shown greater growth in height, weight, and girth. The report credits some of the improvement to the provision of school lunches, which were introduced in 1947. The foods served include bread made of enriched flour, powdered milk, fish, meat, eggs, soybeans, potatoes, other vegetables, and fruit. Formerly the children's diet, as well as that of adults, consisted mainly of rice.

School Health

The Committee on School Health of the American Academy of Pediatrics recently issued a report on school health policies, recommending three types of services for a health program for school-age children. These are: (1) routine, regular physical examinations, preferably before the child enters school, again during the intermediate grades, then at entrance to secondary school, and finally before completion of the secondary grades; (2) followup of each examination with medical supervision when any abnormality is found; and (3) education and counseling of parents in need of following medical advice concerning their children's health. Identifying roles in such a program for school boards, parents, teachers, nurses, and private and school physicians, the Committee recommends that school physicians serve primarily as health advisers rather than sources of medical care.

Booklets for keeping a child's individual health record from birth through his 17th year are now being provided to parents of newborn babies by the Colorado State Department of Public Health. The booklets contain spaces to be filled in over the years with information showing: steps in early development; growth in height and weight; medical examinations, including date, results, recommendations, and name of

doctor; special examinations and tests; immunizations; allergies; illnesses; operations; hospitalizations. Spaces are also included for the mother's medical record in connection with the child's birth. The health record was prepared by the department's maternal and child health section, with the approval and help of the State medical society and the State congress of parents and teachers. It was developed not only as a method of recording health information but also to encourage periodic health appraisal of children.

Maximum use of existing community facilities for helping handicapped children is sought by a committee operating a 3-year project to coordinate the services available in Summit County (Akron), Ohio. The project, now in its second year, is financed by Children's Bureau, State, and foundation funds. Six cooperating health agencies work with the committee: a rehabilitation center, a society for crippled children, a council for the mentally retarded, the district heart association, and United Cerebral Palsy.

The project's activities include: carrying on a clearinghouse on services available to physically or mentally handicapped children; developing panels of consultants for recommendations on multiproblem cases; working to obtain casework and groupwork for handicapped children; providing consultation to the cooperating agencies on program aspects of work with handicapped children and on administrative problems; increasing community understanding of the problems of the handicapped and of programs for them.

The project has an advisory committee representing the six cooperating agencies and community groups.

Child Welfare

Four national voluntary social-welfare organizations—the Child Welfare League of America, the Family Service Association of America, the National Probation and Parole Association, and the National Travelers Aid Association—have joined in establishing a program to help States and communities to review their services to children and families and to find ways to coordinate and improve them.

The new "joint survey service," which began operation April 1, 1960, makes available for community surveys

the combined knowledge of a battery of professional workers—staff members of the four national organizations—trained and experienced in the four fields with which these organizations are concerned: care of needy, neglected, or dependent children; family counseling for marital and parent-child problems; probation and parole services for juvenile delinquents and youthful offenders; services to travelers, newcomers, and migrants. Its purpose is to provide comprehensive appraisals of the various needs for casework services in local communities; to facilitate the promotion in communities of sound casework services and a balance of related social and health services; and, incidentally, to bring the four national associations closer together for exchange of information, examination of policies, and promotion of high standards of service to meet the needs of troubled people.

The new service is working closely with the National Social Welfare Assembly and the United Community Funds and Councils of America. Its director is Maurice O. Hunt; its address, the headquarters of the Family Service Association of America, 215 Park Avenue South, New York 3. Fees for surveys will be charged on the basis of costs.

An experiment in applying some of the insights of family-centered casework in a program of foster-family care for emotionally disturbed children is being carried on in a 9-month demonstration by the Division of Child Welfare of the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare. In this experiment, the focus has been widened to include the foster family as a whole rather than concentrating solely on the foster child. Its purpose is to achieve a collaborative assessment, by social workers and psychiatrists, of the realities and potentialities of foster care as the resource of choice for seriously disturbed children.

Three psychiatrists are devoting a minimum of 56 hours a month to the project. They, as well as the social workers, visit the foster-family homes in an effort to get a picture of family interaction and relationships and to involve the foster parents more closely in the child's treatment. In general the social worker rather than the psychiatrist carries the responsibility in

the treatment team, though this varies with the circumstances. One psychologist is available to give tests and to confer with the other project workers.

Each member of the team is evaluating the potentialities of the foster family separately after several interviews with the child and the family. At the end of the project each will again evaluate the effects of this approach on the family and the child. The hope is to learn something about the likelihood of response to various treatment measures, what kinds of problems can be anticipated, which children should not be in foster-family placement, and the kind of care they need.

Attacking Dependency

A coordinated effort to change conditions leading to family breakdown and dependency has been urged for the city of Washington by a committee of the District of Columbia Health and Welfare Council as a result of a study of the reasons for the rising population of the District's institution for dependent children. Maintaining that the effort must be carried out not only by governmental and voluntary agencies but also by citizen action the committee sees it as involving improvements in housing, employment opportunities, community education, and juvenile court procedure.

The institution, Junior Village, in 1947 housed 30 children; in 1958 it housed 302—a 900 percent increase. Since Washington's population was not growing at any such pace during those years, the committee points to the figures as a sign of multiplying family dependency in the city.

Some of the recommendations for measures aimed to get at the roots of family dependency include: adult education to improve family living; revision of the unemployment compensation program; promotion of employment opportunities for young people, with special attention to eliminating racial bias in hiring; action toward fulfilling the housing needs of low-income families, including enforcement of the present housing code.

Recommendations concerning the work of the Department of Public Welfare call for an enlargement of staff in order to provide more professional time for helping families and children in crises; an expanded staff development

program; improved casework methods for helping families stay together; more coordination of public assistance and child welfare services; reexamination of use of resources for care of children and expansion of the foster-family home program; and changes in laws and regulations that "distort the proper execution of the Department's function," so that the primary consideration

in assisting children will be their need.

Recommendations applying to the juvenile court include: increase in the probation staff; addition of two judges; and consideration of reconstituting the court as part of a family court.

The committee also recommends that a planned neighborhood-by-neighborhood attack be made to prevent family breakdown and dependency, using every

community resource—every public agency, civic and fraternal organization, church, labor union, business—to reach out to help families endangered by failures in employment, housing, education, recreation, health, or the basic tenets in family living.

The committee has published its findings in a report, "What Price Dependency?"

IN THE JOURNALS

Alien Children

In a symposium of "The Alien Child," published in *Social Casework* for March 1960, three New York social workers call attention to the special problems and anxieties of families that have immigrated to this country.

Discussing the alien child living with his own family, Harold B. Sharkey of Jewish Family Service points to the overlapping of the child's problems with those of the other members of his family and to the effect on the child when the parents compound his problems by using him as a repository for their own anxieties.

Gladys Weinberg of the Jewish Child Care Association, describes how her agency helped an alien 10-year-old boy whose bizzare behavior made it necessary for him to live away from his family, and worked to lessen the guilt feeling of his parents, who could not believe it was right for them to let the boy be placed in a foster family.

The difficulties of children from abroad who are adopted in the United States are described by Eugenie Hochfeld of the American branch of International Social Service, who emphasizes that the inevitable risks can be held to a minimum when social welfare agencies offer appropriate service.

Mentally Ill Adolescents

If adolescents in general need more recognition and security than any other age group, the mentally ill adolescent has an even greater need for them, says Kathleen Bueker in the *American Journal of Nursing*, March 1960. ("Adoles-

cents Need Attention.") The author, who is clinical instructor in psychiatric nursing at St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D.C., describes successful efforts of nursing staff to treat understandingly a group of mentally ill adolescent girls and in spite of some violent behavior—kicking, fighting, cursing—to achieve consistency in providing guidance, discipline, and psychological support.

Group Consultation

Two articles in the March 1960 issue of *Child Welfare* describe an experiment in the use of a psychiatrist to give group consultation to staff members of a maternity home to help them understand their own feelings and behavior in order better to be able to understand and help their patients. ("Psychiatric Consultation With Staff of a Maternity Home," by James T. Thickstun, M.D., and "Consultation in a Maternity Home: the administration's point of view," by Sr. Capt. Vivian K. Johnson, administrator, the Salvation Army Booth Memorial Hospital, Los Angeles.)

The psychiatrist, Dr. Thickstun, discusses how the emotional problems and interrelationships of staff members in this type of setting affect the workers' behavior with patients and the methods he found effective in helping members of the group to clarify their thinking. More important than techniques, he found, was providing the atmosphere conducive to self-observation and the stimulation of change.

Captain Johnson discusses the effects of the program on the staff, beginning with a large measure of hostility to

program and psychiatrist and developing into a "team approach to all problems, with increasing insight into the patients' needs." "The staff no longer wanted to get rid of the unruly, hard to handle, psychotic, or acting-out unmarried mother," she notes, and adds, "all concerned gave evidence of their ability to grow and develop under the impact of the program."

New Journals

Among the new journals which made their appearance at the beginning of 1960 are: *Rehabilitation Record*, published by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—first issue, January–February 1960 (\$1.75 a year; single copies 30 cents); *The Journal of Intergroup Relations*, published quarterly by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 426 West 58th Street, New York 19, first issue winter 1959–60 (\$6 a year; single copy \$1.75); *The American Journal of Catholic Youth Work*, published three times a year by the Youth Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington 5, D.C., first issue winter 1960 (\$5 a year; single copy \$1.50); *Journal of Health and Human Behavior*, published quarterly by the Leo Potishman Foundation at Texas Christian University, Fort Worth 29, Tex., first issue spring 1960 (\$6 a year for institutional subscribers; \$4 for individuals).

Public Welfare Report

The January 1960 issue of *Public Welfare*, the quarterly journal of the American Public Welfare Association, presents a report of the association's National Biennial Round Table Conference, held in Washington, D.C., December 2–5, 1959.

BOOK NOTES

A GENETIC FIELD THEORY OF EGO FORMATION; its implications for pathology. René A. Spitz. International Universities Press, New York. 1959. 123 pp. \$3.

The author of this book describes three developmental stages occurring in the first 18 months of life. The first is indicated at about 3 months by the infant's smiling response, the second at 6 to 10 months by his recognition of individuals, and the third at about 18 months by his acquisition of speech. An abnormality at any of those "critical periods," the author says, will influence the next one unfavorably.

Describing the three stages as "the prehuman steps on the road to humanization," the author points out that he does not consider his propositions the ultimate formulation of the laws of psychological development, but as helps in understanding such development, which may serve as hints for later therapeutic procedure.

The author, is at present visiting clinical professor of psychiatry at the University of Colorado.

NORMAL CHILDREN AND MOTHERS; their emotional opportunities and obstacles. Irving D. Harris. The Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. 1959. 287 pp. \$6.

A study of normality in children, made as a step toward better guidance of mothers and children, is reported in this book by a psychiatrist on the staff of the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research. In the study 54 children 8 and 9 years old, described by school personnel as "normal," were given a variety of diagnostic tests and interviews by a team consisting of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a social worker. The children's mothers were similarly studied.

Agreeing with the opinion of the school workers that all the children were within the limits of normality, the team found 25 children "very well adjusted," 11 "well adjusted," and 18 "fairly well adjusted." The team found

that the degree of normality of the children seemed to be intimately related to the emotional maturation of the mother.

The book includes 54 short "profiles," noting for each child the school report on his adjustment in his latency and puberty periods, his relationship with the psychiatrist, his play activity, and his dreams; and for each mother for her idea of the child's problem, the degree of impairment of her mothering qualities, her ability to relate to the interviewer, and her dreams.

In a chapter called "Implications" the author notes that "the inevitable presence of abnormal potential" in a person is not so pertinent to his mental health as the "interrelationship between the abnormal and normal potential."

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY OF THE CHILD, vol. 14. Edited by Ruth S. Elssler, Anna Freud, Heinz Hartmann, Marianne Kris. International Universities Press, New York. 1959. 433 pp. \$8.50.

The 17 papers included in this collection are divided into four groups, under the headings Theory, Research Projects, Clinical Papers, and Applied Psychoanalysis. Among the subjects treated are: play in relation to creative imagination, psychological processes in pregnancy, reversibility of results of material deprivation in infancy, and the nursery school as a diagnostic help to the child guidance clinic.

PREDICTING DELINQUENCY AND CRIME. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1959. 283 pp. \$6.50.

The purpose of this volume is to present "an entire *system* of predictive devices covering the span of years from first court appearance until approximately age 40, and including predictive devices for the early identification of potential delinquents." In it are brought together the various pre-

dictive scales worked out by the authors over a period of 30 years, with an account of their development and application, as well as definitions and directions for use. The authors express the hope that, despite the objections often raised against predictive devices in general, and the specific (and in their view unjustified) criticisms of theirs in particular, increasing use will be made of them by courts, parole authorities, and clinicians concerned with preventing and treating delinquency.

THE VANISHING ADOLESCENT. Edgar Z. Friedenberg. Introduction by David Riesman. Beacon Press, Boston. 1959. 144 pp. \$2.95.

The fundamental task of adolescence—viewed as a social process—is clear and stable self-identification, according to the author of this book, a sociologist and teacher of adolescent development at Brooklyn College. Such identification, he maintains, is not being achieved by most adolescents today, partly because of our society's and especially the high school's emphasis on conformity and group adjustment.

Pointing out that the greatest safeguard to any democracy is a continuing community of self-respecting young people who understand and accept their relationship to society, the author maintains that "The basic unit of such a community is a stable self to respect."

THEY STEAL FOR LOVE; an experiment in education and psychiatry with children and parents. Anthony Weaver. International Universities Press, New York. 1959. 132 pp. \$4.

This study of treatment of disturbed boys and girls in a small voluntary institution in England for children charged with delinquency traces the development of individual children's behavior in relation to their family backgrounds, and describes methods used in working with the children and their parents toward helping the child to adjust. The 17 children involved ranged in ages from 7 to 12. The author describes the institution's task as "to generate a discipline based on persuasion rather than force and to show the children, however hostile they might be, that we cared for them."

READERS' EXCHANGE

ERIKSON: *A scientist who cares*

Professor Erik Erikson's great impact on our thinking seems to me to be the result of his truly seminal concepts, his deep understanding of the fusion of unconscious personality processes with overt cultural or social forces, and his ability to convey his meanings with a minimum of technical language. At the same time, his extensive audience among laymen almost inevitably gives rise to oversimplifications and some misunderstandings.

We are particularly appreciative of the point he made in the interview reported in the March-April 1960 issue of *CHILDREN* ["Youth and the Life Cycle," an interview with Erik H. Erikson] that the crises in each stage of the individual's life are not permanently conquered, but that the "healthy personality must reconquer them continuously in the same way that the body's metabolism resists decay." One of the most oversimplified and overworked words is "maturity," as if it were some goal which could be permanently maintained. As Professor Erikson points out, a residue of immaturity is carried throughout life and "a person moves up and down the scale of maturity."

We might add that attainable points in this scale are not the same for all people, but depend to some degree on the idiosyncratic genetic and social factors in the life history of an individual and on the society into which he is born. As Professor Erikson says, "Life is a sequence not only of developmental but also of accidental crises." We like, too, his point that the process of the adolescent's growth can be "a prime force in cultural rejuvenation," rather than a malaise to be "cured." Rapid social change need not be inimical to either the adolescent or to culture.

We are not too surprised that an organization devoted to problems of parenthood reprinted the author's original life cycle theory paper and omitted the last stage, *Senescence: Integrity vs. Disgrace*. In our youth-centered culture parents seem so preoccupied with their children's growing up that they appar-

ently forget that they might have problems in growing old. Obviously the two problems are related, as is the morality of young people with the morality of the adult world.

Professor Erikson notes that psychiatry has added very little to our understanding of morality, except by stating the dangers incurred in those moralistic attitudes which convince the child only of his parent's power rather than of his actual moral worth. Anthropology has also not made its potential contribution to our understanding of morality. The significant concept of cultural relativity has been so oversimplified by some anthropologists and by many laymen that it has tended to negate a deeper understanding of morality.

Professor Erikson seems to us to be a moral man, one who *cares* about man and his society. Perhaps only a moral person can come to grips scientifically with the problem of morality.

*Hortense Powdermaker,
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VAN DER WAALS: *Translations needed*

I am extremely interested in the study described by Dr. Paula van der Waals in her article, "Former Foster Children Reflect on Their Childhood." [*CHILDREN*, January-February 1960.] I am at present engaged in a similar though smaller followup study of young men and women who in their childhood were in foster care in Minnesota.

The van der Waals article is based on the 116 page Dutch publication "Oud-Pupillen Antwoorden," by Ida Alten. The fact that this is a study of former foster children in a different country whose experiences in the care of an agency took place years ago does not detract from its value to the present-day child welfare worker in this country. While great differences may exist between practice then and practice now, the long-time effect of foster care upon individuals can only be studied after the passage of years.

Furthermore, some of the problems upon which this study focuses attention

are exactly those which remain with us in foster care today, as for example, the hazards to foster children of repeated replacements. This experience for foster children of today, as for the men and women who were foster children in Holland years ago, is likely to contribute to a feeling throughout life that they never "belonged." Nor are we yet sure that we know how to select foster parents who will truly meet the needs of children placed with them.

A follow-up study of this type presents many methodological obstacles, as well as difficulties in interpretation. The article mentions that although the interviews were based "on a rather elaborate questionnaire," the "interviewer did not produce this directly during her visits." It would seem extremely difficult to secure exactly comparable data unless exactly the same information was requested from each respondent, which could hardly be accomplished except within a highly structured situation.

Many of these former foster children had had experiences prior to placement which we would expect to have caused serious damage. This presents a problem in assessing the extent to which the current adult status can be attributed to the failure of foster care to meet the child's needs or to the traumatic pre-placement experiences.

The article points out that while "socially, many were rather well established . . . many felt unsuccessful, dissatisfied, and distressed. Emotionally unadjusted, they felt that their life had not been worth living"—a tragic state of affairs. Since the objectives of casework are to improve the individual's social productivity and to increase his personal satisfactions, it is highly appropriate for a followup study to examine both of these aspects of adjustment. But this, too, enormously increases the methodological problem and the problem of evaluating the findings. While there are rates of dependency, divorce, illegitimacy, criminality, and other indicators of social maladjustment among the general population against which these persons can be compared, there are no norms of well-being.

Tot Steun should be congratulated for undertaking this study of the consequences of its program and also for its intention to begin now to plan for another inquiry 30 years from now.

With all the loose money floating around for use for research, it is regrettable that some is not being used to translate this Dutch publication, as well as the similar Finnish publication of 1956, written by Reino Salo, "Kunnallinen Lastensuojeluyhteisö Sosiaalisen Söpetumisen Kasuattajana." The English summary, published in the Finnish volume, is helpful, but it would be good to see the full translation of both of these books.

Elizabeth G. Meier

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SANDUSKY: *Problems from progress*

Over the last few decades there has been an interesting progression from the easier technique to the more difficult in serving the neglected child. Mrs. Sandusky's flash of perspective regarding this development reminds us that progress has an intriguing way of begetting new problems, requiring us constantly to adjust and refine efforts if our gains are to be held. ["Services to Neglected Children," by Annie Lee Sandusky, *CHILDREN*, January-February 1960.]

As Mrs. Sandusky mentions, the agencies that first became concerned with abused children functioned mainly as law enforcing instruments. If the complaint was abuse or neglect of the children, if the children were hungry

while an inadequate father loafed, drank, or lingered, there was no need to enter upon intensive long-range family-strengthening efforts. The worker just vigorously waved the law at the father and had him put in jail or threatened to do so.

We have seen this approach recede into the past, superseded by a firm philosophy of helping the family to stay together. And now we are learning to get to the reluctant family, to help them to reach a point where they want help. This, of course, is an incomparably more difficult task, requiring consummate skill.

This development has not been accompanied by a commensurate public appreciation of the progress it represents. Thus we have another progress-begotten problem, as Mrs. Sandusky recognizes, when she mentions the need for fostering better understanding between the child welfare agency and other agencies such as the police.

The earlier procedure had an appealing simplicity. To see a jail sentence, or a threat of one, thrust at a neglectful or abusive parent was emotionally satisfying to an outraged public. But there is much less direct satisfaction for the public in the intangible, mysterious process of protracted casework without punitive features. The police officer, who works in a traditionally authoritarian setting

and is perhaps the first to see the neglected child and his drunken parent, is apt to call for punitive action that will "protect the child against the parents." How tolerant will he be of the social worker who sees his job as being to help the child by the more tedious process of giving the parents an increased capacity to care for their family? Mrs. Sandusky is right in pointing out that where insufficient understanding impinges upon our work, mutual communication must be intensified.

Whatever we can do to extend our interpretative efforts to the public in general will make our work easier. But another point Mrs. Sandusky makes is perhaps even more important—that when our technique is understood and appreciated, then children are referred to us more freely. Here is a fact to be underscored by any agency that is contemplating any spurt of growth or improvement. Improvement of quality of service should be accompanied by improvement also in the agency's capacity for volume. If the agency is not prepared to meet the increased demand, the new burden will depress the quality of services, and the progress will have carried the seeds of its own betrayal.

Paul W. Kere

Director of Court Services, Hennepin County District Court, Minneapolis, Minn.

Guides and Reports

HOW RETARDED CHILDREN CAN BE HELPED. Evelyn Hart. Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 288. 1959. 28 pp. 25 cents. Discounts on quantity orders.

Presents information about the mentally retarded and outlines the community services needed for their training and care.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FATHER. Family Service Association of America, 215 Park Avenue South, New York 3, 1959. 78 pp. \$1.

Four papers dealing with the role of

the father in the family and the effects of his absence, from the 1959 biennial meeting of the Family Service Association of America.

THE ONE-PARENT FAMILY. Anna W. M. Wolf and Lucille Stein. Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, and Child Study Association of America, 132 East 74th Street, New York 21, N.Y. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 287. 1959. 28 pp. 25 cents. Discount on quantity orders.

Discusses problems of child rearing faced by parents who because of death,

desertion, or divorce must rear their children alone. Not intended as a substitute for professional guidance.

THE PASTOR AND COMMUNITY RESOURCES. Charles F. Kemp. Published for the Department of Social Welfare, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., by the Bethany Press, Box 179, St. Louis 66, Mo. 1960. 96 pp. \$1.50.

Includes: (1) basic principles underlying the pastor's relationship with social-work and other professional agencies; (2) information on agencies and other resources for helping people, grouped by categories of need; (3) a directory of national Government and voluntary resources; (4) blank spaces for addresses and telephone numbers of various types of local resources.

SOME U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

Publications for which prices are quoted are for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Orders should be accompanied by payment. Twenty-five percent discount on quantities of 100 or more.

MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH SERVICES, 1957. Theodore Pritzker. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau. CB Statistical Series No. 53. 1959. 28 pp. Single copies free, from the Children's Bureau.

Compares 1956 and 1957 statistics on services provided or financially supported wholly or partly by maternal and child health sections of State and local health departments. Reports gains in special clinics for the mentally retarded (now available in 44 States), the number of mothers receiving prenatal clinic services (except dental treatment), and the number of children receiving most types of well child conference services, including immunizations (except against poliomyelitis).

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY—FACTS, FACETS: 1. The Children's Bureau and Juvenile Delinquency, Dorothy E. Bradbury, 73 pp., 30 cents; 2. Sociological Theories and Their Implications for Juvenile Delinquency, David J. Bordua, 22 pp., 15 cents; 3. Selected, Annotated Readings on Group Services in the Treatment and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, Mary E.

Blake, 17 pp., 15 cents; 4. Delinquency Prevention—The Size of the Problem, I. Richard Perlman, 9 pp., 15 cents; 5. Identifying Potential Delinquents, Elizabeth Herzog, 6 pp., 10 cents; 6. Family Courts—An Urgent Need, Harriet L. Goldberg and William H. Sheridan, 14 pp., 15 cents. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau. 1960.

These are the first six of a projected series of documents on juvenile delinquency addressed to a technical audience.

Number 1 presents the highlights of the Children's Bureau interest in juvenile delinquency since the Bureau's establishment in 1912, and includes an annotated bibliography of its published material relating to delinquency.

Number 2 reports on a Children's Bureau conference of sociologists, held to consider sociological theories on juvenile delinquency and their implications for future programs for prevention. The emphasis is on the causes of delinquency among the lower socioeconomic groups in the larger cities.

Number 3 lists annotated readings pertinent to the control of juvenile delinquency, selected primarily to help

persons working with groups of delinquents in various settings.

Number 4 reviews evidence of increasing delinquent behavior in recent years and discusses briefly the handling of juvenile offenders by police and courts, undetected delinquencies, and research needed as a basis for preventing or reducing the problem.

Number 5 describes the pros and cons of the instruments devised by various research workers to identify potential delinquents.

Number 6 presents the thinking behind a recommendation for the establishment of integrated family courts and the judicial and social considerations that must be taken into account in their establishment.

DETENTION PLANNING; general suggestions and a guide for determining capacity. Edgar W. Brewer. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau. CB Publication No. 381. 1960. 41 pp. 20 cents.

Noting that four out of five counties in the United States have no place except the county jail for detention of a child lawbreaker awaiting court disposition of his case, this publication discusses the need for State-administered regional detention programs and for community planning for detention facilities. Stressing the importance of physical restriction as well as guidance in detention care, it points out that such care is needed only when the child is a threat to himself or the community.

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